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THE LIVES OF THE KINGS

EDITED BY CHARLES WHIBLEY

THE TRIUMPHANT REIGNE OF KYNG HENRY THE VIII

VOL. II

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HENRY VIII

FROM A CONTEMPORARY WOODCUT

THE LIVES OF THE KINGS

HENRY VIII

BY EDWARD HALL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

CHARLES WHIBLEY

VOLUME II

LONDON: T. C. & E. C. JACK

34 HENRIETTA STREET, W.C., AND EDINBURGH

1904

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THE TRIUMPHANT REIGNE OF KYNG HENRY THE VIII.

THE XVI. YERE.

THE XVI. YERE [1524-25]

IN the beginnyng of thys xvi. yere the kynge lay at hys maner of Newhall in Essex, and there kept the feaste of sainct George and hearynge that the byshopp of Romes Ambassador was commyng into Englande removed to hys Manor of Grenewyche where the sayd Archbishop and legate came to hym and was highly entertained, whiche declared wisely and eloquently the message and entent of hys master, whyche was to make a peace and concord betwene the princes of Christendome, and especially betwene the Emperor, the Kynge of England and the French kyng, and for that cause he had been with the Emperor and also with the Frenche kyng, whiche as he sayd affirmed that without cause the kyng of England made on hym warre, considerynge that he to thentent to have the more amitie and favor of you and your nobles hath liberally geven to you and theim honorable pencions, whiche by no dutie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of hys benivolence and bountie. Also he sayeth that you clayme his croune, realme, and possessions, whiche toucheth hym hyghly, and of yours he claymeth nothyng, and therfore he thynketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherfore may it please your highnes to tell me your mynde and I shall it declare to the whole court of Rome God wyllyng and forget nothyng.

Then the kyng called to him his counsaill, and after divers consultacions had, the Ambassador was sent for, and there was shewed to him many recordes, provyng the kynge of England to be inheritor to the realme of Fraunce by bloud and also so confirmed by divers Charters in the tyme of

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of kyng Charles the VII. And as concernyng the pencion, to him was shewed divers Charters, that it was no pencion of frendship but due rent for the duches of Normandy and Guyan and the countreys of Aniew and Maine which are the kynge of Englandes very enheritaunce. Farthermore there wer shewed to him divers bondes of the sayd French kynges for the payment for the citie of Turnay and other duties whiche he ought to the kyng of England, all whiche articles to fulfyll, the Frenche kynge hath oftentimes been required by Ambassadors, and yet he ever dissembled and would not conforme hymselfe to reason: of all these thinges wer notes written and delivered to the bishop of Romes ambassador, which toke his leve of the kyng and returned in post accompanied but with iii. persones. By reason of the commyng of this Ambassador men hoped that peace shoulde ensue, but it succeded not this yere: for the third day of May the garrison of Bullein with divers other in the moste secrete wise that could be came to a place within the Englishe pale called Sentricas and sodainly strake up a dromme or drounslade: the people hearyng this in the night were sore abashed, some fled naked and some clothed, the most part fled to the Churche, and the Frenchemen them folowed and toke xxi. prisoners and then set fyer on the Churche: By this tyme was all the pale raised which thyng the Frenchmen perceivyng left their botie and returned in all hast with their prisoners to Bullein.

In this season the lordes of Flaunders lay at the siege before Tyrwyn and were likely to have taken it by famyne, whereof the Frenche kyng beyng advertised assembled an armye of xxii. M. horsemen and fotemen under the conduicte of the Duke of Vandosme and the lorde Pountdormy, and the Frenche kyng himselfe came doune to Amyas and there caused it to be noysed that he woulde besege the toune of Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke the last yere had left the kyng of Englandes ordinaunce. The kynge of Englande hearyng of this, sayd, that yf the Frenche kynge beseged Valencyen, he in person would go thither for to reskue his ordinaunce. The Lorde Fynes and other lordes of Flaunders whiche lay before Tyrwyn wyth ix. M. menne were advertised of the Frenche armye, but because of the fame that the host should go to Valencyen, they sent for nomore succors.

When

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When the Frenchmen had all thynges ready, they left the waye to Valencyen and tooke the way directly to Tyrwyn. When the Lordes of Flaunders perceived that, they were sore abashed and then they knew that they were disceived, and that they were not able to abyde the puissaunce of the Frenche army. Wherefore they raysed their siege, and put themselfes in order of battail on the Southest side of Tyrwyn: the French armye passed forward the vi. day of May towarde Tyrwyn and made no semblaunce to fight: Howbeit some of theim skyrmished with the horsemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the toune, wher unto they were welcome, and the lordes of Flaunders departed sore displeased but there was no remedy. Then ranne a brute that the French army would lay sege to Guysnes: wherfore the kyng caused men and all other thynges to be put in a readynes for the spedye reskue thereof yf it had so chaunsed. But the Frenchemen toke a better advice.

In this moneth of May sir Robert Jernyngham capitain of Newnam bridge communed with Christopher Coo, a capitaine of divers Englishe shippes that kept the sea, whiche then was in Calayce haven for vitaile and sayd, capitain Coo you know how the Bulleners have visited nere to Calayce the Englishe pale and have burned Sentrycas. If you will promise to set many of your menne a lande at the haven of Bullein the xix. day of Maye, I with as many as I can furnishe wyll mete with you there in basse Bulleine at the tyme and houre betwene us appointed, to the whiche the said Christopher agreed and faithfully promysed, and so prepared accordyngly everye thyng necessarye and so fayled towarde Bulleyn, Sir Robert Jernyngham sent worde of this enterprise to sir Willyam Fitzwillyam capitaine of Guysnes to know yf he would ayde any part toward this jorney, whiche sent word that he would be at the same aventure himselfe: then all the gentlemen desired him to be capitaine of that enterprise, which he thankefully and wyth heart received: then all the men of warre and the adventurers and the Bayly Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together they wer CCC. horsemen, and of the countrey and Marke iii. C. and of the aventurers C. lx. and so one and other they were vii. C. men. All these persones mette at an houre appointed at Sandyngfelde: the night was short so that it was daye or they came nere Bullein all set

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set in good order of battail, but thei were askried before they came nere Bullein, and so it chaunsed that Christopher Coo with his shippes whiche had winde at will was come with his iiii. shippes before Bullein somwhat before day, the Bulleners that kept the watche him espied, and then he manned his boates and with men and ordinaunce stretched toward the land, by that tyme was all basse Bullein in harnes ready to defend the Englishmen from londyng, but capitaine Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of Basse Bullein wer on the shore, that seynge the garrison made them ready and bent their ordinaunce. Sir Willyam Fitzwillyam hearyng the gunnes toward the havenside knewe well that Cristopher Coo was in his busines, and so encoraged every man to do well and marched forwarde with asmuche spede as might be, insomuche that all the Englishemen were on the hylles before Bullein in sondrye plumpes, then issued out the horsmen of Bullein betwene the castle and Cardons tower, the light horsmen of the Englishe part theim encountred, there was a good fight, the Frenchemen shotte with Crosbowes, and the Englishemen with long bowes, and the great ordinaunce shot terribly, the Englishemen approched the toune walles, this skyrmishe was fierse and ever the archers ayded the horsemen. While the horsemen were thus skyrmishyng, the viii. score aventurers which were hardy and valiaunt men cast themselfes about and came to basse Bullein, and there they were hardely received of the Frenchmen, yet notwithstandyng they lost their barriers and the Englishmen entred, there was shotyng on all sides and a strong fight. The Frenchemen cried Bullein, and thenglisheman sainct George Calayce: but at the last the Frenchmen were driven backe and many slayne, and xliiii. taken prisoners, and so they returned to their capitaine sir Willyam Fitzwillyam. All this while was Christopher Coo on lond on the sea cost and bet the Frenchmen up to the toune, and when the tide turned he with all his came agayne in safetie to their shippes. The Englishe horsemen after long fightyng tooke thre of the Frenchemen of armes and the other reculed to the toune. By thys tyme by reason of the *Alarme* was all the countrey of Pycardye raysed and muche people resorted to Bullein on all sydes, whyche doyng sir Willyam Fitzwillyam wisely perceivyng, by the sounde of a trumpette brought all his menne together in a plumpe, and

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and then sent them hither and thither to fette his driftes of beastes that were nere in the countrey on every side, whiche was quickely done, for the adventurers brought Oxen, Kyne, Horses, and many other pillages, and brent the granges and villages, and so mette together, and wyth their botie returned in savetie.

The Tewsday folowinge, beyng the laste day of May, sir Wyllyam Fitz William, wyth a C. and fiftie horsemen, and the aventurers, and a hundred other persones mo, came to a place called Samer de Boys, the sayd captain wisely considered, that in that place the Frenchemen had diverse times lurked, and taken at avantage the Englishmen, wherefore he laied his horsemen, and his archers on horsebacke in a woodde in a waite if the Frenchmen folowed the stale: then he sent furth his aventurers, which passed farther, then the captain wold that thei shulde have done, and sodenly they wer askryed: then on came the Frenchmen, the aventurers sware, that they would not flie, but bent them selfes to defend their enemies, which wer iii. C. horsemen. The Frenchmen knew well their hardines, but yet they called them Crakers, whych by missounding, was commonly called Krekers, for a suretie these men were hardy, and full of pollicie, and very far would jeoperd, the Frenchemen sent about a valey i. C. of the best horsemen, and ii. hundred footmen then were the Krekers betwene ii. bendes of the Frenchmen: sir William Fitz Wylliam beyng assured of the conduyt of the Frenchmen, much doubted the chaunce of the aventurers, wherfore in great hast sent for hys stale of horsemen, that he had left covered: and the Frenchmen that were before the Krekers, came and set on very fast, in hope of their horsemen that were gone about an hil in the valey. The Englyshmen them valiantly defended, then as the horsemen had compassed the hill, the aventurers were come on a plain: then the horsemen that were come to syr William Fitz William, set on the French horsemen, ther was a hard and a ferce encounter, for the Frenchmen fought sore, but at length they fled, and in the chace were taken lvi. horsemen, and xliiii. slain one and other, and many Englishmen sore hurt and diverse slain, thus the Krekers scaped a narowe hasard.

In the same season on the second day of maye, sir Thomas Palmer one of the Captains of the Frontiers, was ridyng

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ridyng to his frend, maister Jerome of Burgon, captain of Turnahan, and wyth him xx. Englyshe men on lyght horse, and as he roade, he sodainly espyed xxx. horsmen of the garrison of Tirwin and Bullein, thei wer nere together or the Englishmen espyed them: then there was no remedy, but to encounter, sir Thomas Palmer wel comforted hys compaignye, and then the Frenche men set on wyth great force, and truly they fought long, wythoute one having any avauntage of the other, but at last the Frenchmen began to faint, and a lytle wythdrawe themselfes, that perceyvynge the Englyshe men, set to them coragiously, and so they slew thre out of hand, and vi. men of armes taken prisoners, and eight dymy lances, with whiche prysoners the Englishmen returned to Guysnes, and kept not their purpose to Turnahan, for all were hurt or wounded.

In June, sir William FitzWilliam, captain of Guysnes, Sir Jhon Walop, and sir Jhon Gage, secretly called to them ix. C. men of warre such as they trusted, and on Midsomer day, passed the lowe countrey of Picardy, unto the castle of Hardingham, or Rigsam and they caried wyth them but one pece of ordinaunce called a Curtal, this gonne they bent against the Castle, whych was well furnished with harnes, ordinaunce, and all other artillerie, and thinges nedeful, and the captaine also was a valiant and hardie gentleman. The Englishmen ever shot that pece and removed it from place to place with great pain, and in conclusyon made a batery of the walles, so that they myght assault it, then the trompet blewe to assault, and the capitain with hys compaignie stode at defence: then syr Jhon Wallop, and sir Jhon Gage wyth the aventurers or krekers entred the diche, and the archers shot at every loupe arrowes and the Frenchmen likewyse shot quarelles: the Englishemen set up laders to the walles, but the Frenchmen threw them doune, at this assault was slain a gentleman called Butler, and xv. other Englishmen, but for all that, the assault was not lefte, for some climed by pykes, and some amended the ladders, and cryed againe to the assault: but sir William Fitz William chiefe capitain of this enterpryse, perceived that they lacked engynes and other thyngs, for the spedy assault of the castle, and not willing to lose his men without cause, caused them to stay, whyle he and other capitaynes counsayled together, and

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and as they wer concluded once again to attempt the assault, they hearde newes that two thousande horsemen, and two thousande footmen, wer at hande to fight wyth them, thei then perceiving that ix. C. men beyng wery, wer no power to encounter with foure thousand Frenchmen, they in good ordre returned to the Englyshe fortresses.

Monsire de Bees Capitain of Bullein, well considered al the enterprices, that the Englishmen had done in Picardy and Fraunce, now of late: he determined to requite theim, to hys honor and fame, and for that purpose, sent for the Erle of Damartyne, the lord Pontremie, and the lorde Chastillion, whych concluded to entre into the Englysh pale, and to shewe themselfes before Calice. Wherfore they assembled all the men of armes and souldioures, of the garrysons aboute, and so they wer viii. C. good horsemen, and wyth pykes, gonnes and crossebowes viii. C. footemen, and when all thys compaygny was assembled, Monsire de Bees as capitain of this jorney, wyth the other lordes, the fourth day of August with banner displayd, came toward Calice in the eveninge: and the next day in the morninge, by syxe of the Clocke, they came to a village wythin the Englyshe pale, called Bonynghes. Then the Alarme rose through all the English pale, and so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraunce sent out their forriders, to serch and overse the countrey, and then they layd an embushment of iii. C. horsemen at the said toune of Bonynges and with that bend abode Monsire Pontremie, and Monsire de Bees rode to Kalkewel wyth iii. C. horsemen, and there taryed wyth them, the earle of Dammartine wyth iii. fresh horsemen, and all the footmen with banner displaid, rode and forraged all the Countrey, of whyche thre hundred speres, thei let one C. go at large, and kept the residue wyth them.

When the Alarme came to Calice, every man made to horse and harnes. Then sir Robert Jernyngham wyth lxxx. horsemen with all spede rode out of Calice to behold the compaignie of the Frenchmen. And he sent furth his lyght horsemen, which met with the skourers of the French men, and because the French men semed a few in nombre, the Englyshe forriders proferred toward them, which fled toward Sandiffeld, and the Englyshmen chased after,

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after, not beyng of knowelege of the embushementes, that laye at Bonynges and Kalkewel.

When sir Robert Jerningham saw his light horsemen chace, he folowed after softly, to kepe his horse in brethe. Then sodainly the French men that were in chace returned, for some of their ayde was nere them. When the Englishmen whych passed not xvi. horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, thei encountered wyth them manfully, but to the Frenchmen came still mo and mo, so that the Englyshmen wer constrayned to flie another waye, to the hie lande in great jeoperdy, for the Frenchmen them pursued, but by the helpe of the light geldinges, the Englyshmen gat the sea side, or sea sandes beyond Skales: then wer the Englishmen glad and returned, and fought wyth the Frenchmen hand to hand, for the Frenchmen behinde folowed not the chace, but only twenty horsemen, and wyth pure fyghting the Englyshmen toke one of the French horsemen, and came with him to Calice, and so were saved.

When sir Robert Jerningham sawe hys men in chace (as you have hard) and saw that thei were in great jeoperdy, he avaunsed for their rescue all that he might, which was the saving of the lyght horsemen, for the Frenchmen left theim, to encountre wyth sir Robert Jernyngham, and so it was that he went so farre forward, that the Frenchmen were betwene him and Calice. And when he saw al the bendes, and embushmentes breake out, he sayd to hys compaignie: sirs, S. George to borowe, lette these Frenche galantes knowe what we Englyshemen be: Sir sayed his compaigny, they shall bye us dere. Then he marched towarde the hyghe lande: Then approched a great nomber of horsemen of Fraunce, the Englishmen theim valiauntly received, and manfullye defended, but ever the Frenchmen came freshe and freshe, so that the Englishmen beyng wery, and oppressed with multitude, wer faine to flye: and in this chace was taken Thomas Cheiney an Archer, whose horse was tiered, and two other archers on horsebacke, one called George Kar and the other Rowlande Atkynson, the thre other of the English pale, sir Robert and the remnaunt, saved themselfs the best that thei could.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen souned their trompet and reculed to Bulleyn, and sent worde to Calice,

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Calice, that they would visite them oftener. Sir Robert Jernyngham remembring this chaunce thought to be revenged of the same, and so advisyng himself, to what place he should repaire, he remembred that whensoever the Englishmen made any jorney to Margyson, the Frenchmen would flie over the water or creke, to a high ground by boates, and there as it wer in an island, save themselfes, because on that side thei might ever have succors, for the creke or water, is beyond the toune from Calice. Therfore the sayd sir Robert caused fyve great boates to be caryed in wagons, and so he with other capitaynes of Calice and Guysnes, to the nombre of iii. C. fotemen with the Krekers, and lx. horsemen the xii. day of August, with banners displayed toke their way to the toune of garrison, and in the nyght the light horsemen gave Alarme to the toune of Bullein, and toke two souldiers prisoners, and brought with them certain cattaill to their compaignie. Then thenglishmen marched forward, towarde Margison, that seing the Frenchmen toke their boates in trust of the water, and passed over: the Englyshmen perceived that, and lanched their Boates, and so lyke aventurers entered, and by force passed, and so mo and mo, till C. lx. wer passed over: the countrey began to gather, so that the Frenchmen wer thre hundred, which fought with the Englishmen, and would have letted the boates to land, but the archers on the other side drave them back, and the Englyshmen slew at the first encounter lx. men, and toke fortie prisoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met with newe succors, and then began a new battaill, and the Frenchmen fought hardely, but at thend they fled, the most porest of the people, on the other syde of the water fled to the Churche, and abode at their defence, then was there fire set in the church, then the Frenchmen lept out of the church, to their destruccion for of thre hundred there was saved but sixtie on lyve.

The whole power of Bullein was come doune, nere to the place: but when they perceyved that it was to late, and the Englyshemen were returned, they came no farther. This was sir Robert Jarningham even with the Frenchmen, and brought a good botie, and many prisoners to Calice, which sore greved the captain of Bullein.

The Frenchmen perceiving, that they gat lytle at the Englyshmens

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Englyshmens handes, thought to take their avauntage of the Flemmynges, wherfore they assembled of the garrisons, of Bullein and Tirwin, v. C. fotemen, and thre hundred horsemen, and so in good ordre marched toward sainct Omers, and thei sent to go aforraging i. C. fotemen, and as many horsemen, and the rest kept themselfes in a stale. These Frenchmen came by Arkus, nighe to sainct Omers, and foraged all the countrey, the Alarme sprang all the countrey to Turnahan, the captain of Turnahan sent worde to sir William Fitz William, capytayne of Guisnes, that the Frenchmen were abroade, whych made answere, that if the Frenchmen came nere to him, surely he would speake with them, with which answer the capytain of Turnahan being encoraged, sent furth CC. Flemminges on foote, still the Frenchmen marched toward Turnahan, the Flemminges that were sent from Turnahan, marched toward the waye, wher the Frenchmen should come, thinking that when the captayn of Guisnes had set on them, that then they would have lyen in the chace at the receipt.

The sayd capitain of Guisnes valiantly marched forwarde, wyth a C. horsemen, and iiii. C. fotemen, entending to mete with the Frenchmen and sodaynly as he was passing forward, word was brought him that the erle of Damarten, with the garrisons of Mustrel and Abvile, to the nomber of vi. C. horsemen, were comming forward toward Guisnes. This hearyng sir William Fitz William, sware that the erle shoulde not take paine to come to Guisnes, for he would mete him on the waye: by this meane he left his first enterprice, and marched toward therle of Damartin. The Frenchemen of Tirwyn, beyng therof advertysed by a spy called al the people together, and with their botie came on forward toward Turnahan, and sodainly they askryed the poore Fleminges, which wer sent out of the castle of Turnahan, and when they perceived the French men comming toward them, thei turned their backes, and fled like shepe: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, and slewe the moste part of theim, for fewe escaped.

The capitayn of Guisnes came to a faire grene, five mile from Guisnes, and there in good ordre of battayl, tareid for the Erles comminge, whych hearing that the capitain of Guysnes, was redy to receive him, made his returne backward,

ward, without any thing doyng: when the capitain knew the trueth of the erles returne, he then with al hast sped him to mete with the Frenchmen, that were comminge to Turnahan, and in the meane way he hard tidinges of the chaunce of the Fleminges, and how the Frenchmen were reculed toward Tyrwyn, whych aventure sore him displeased, but there was no remedy, wherfore he returned to Guysnes again, very sory that the Frenchmen, went away unfought wythal. The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherfore lett us now returne, and shew what warres were kept on the frontiers, betwene Englande and Scotlande, in thys ceason.

The xxi. day of May beyng Trinite Sondaye, v. C. Scottes in the morning by several fordes, entered into Englande, and laye covertlye by the high waye, to distresse merchauntes and merket men, that shuld passe to Berwike, that day to the fayre: for every Trinitie sonday, ther is kept a great fayre: whych the Scottes knewe wel, and as they laye thus lurking, thei robbed many merchauntes, and toke rich prisoners, but at the last they wer perceived, then the Alarme rose, and people began to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Branxston, and thenglishmen them assailed, which so manfully them defended, that yf the yonge lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one C. lyght horsemen, the Scottes had gone away with their botie, but then began a sore fight, many wer hurt on both sydes, and som slayn, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace ther were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saved them selfes.

After this the v. day of July, sir Jhon a Fenwicke, Leonard Musgrave, and Bastard Heron, and diverse other, gathered together ix. C. men, and entred into Scotland, in the countrey called the March, and robbed and spoyled al the countrey, and by chaunce the same season, the Scottes had assembled two thousande men, to invade Englande, and none of these knew of other, til they by aventure met together: Then began a strong medley, for the Scottes fought valiauntly a great while, and the Englishmen them hardely assailed, and at the last by fine force, caused theim to leave the ground and flie, and in the flight wer taken CC. Scottes, and many slain, of the which prisoners diverse wer gentlemen sir Raufe of Fanwycke. Leonard Musgrave, and bastarde

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bastarde Heron, with xxx. other Englyshemen wel horssed, folowed so farre the chace, that they were paste rescues of their compaignie, which perceiving the Scottes sodainly returned, and set on the Englishemen, which oppressed wyth multitude, were sone overcome, and there was taken sir Raufe a Fanwicke, Leonard Musgrave, and syxe other, and Bastarde Heron, and seven other slain, the remnaunt by chaunce escaped: the other English men with their two hundred prisoners, returned savely into England: the slaiyng of the Bastard Heron, was more pleasure to the Scottes, then the taking of the two hundred was displeasure, thei hated him so.

The vii. day of July, the lorde Maxwel of Scotlande, and sir Alexander Jorden, with banners displayd, and Scottes to the nombre of four thousand, entered into England at the Westmarches by Carleile, and began to burne on everye syde: then the Englyshemen assembled on every syde, and so they were in nombre ii. M. men, and fiercely set on the Scottes, there was a great fyght, for the space of an houre, at the last the Englishmen brake the array of the Scottes, and them discomfited, and toke CCC. Scottes prisoners, the Englishmen that had taken prisoners, went away with their prisoners: For Sir Alexander Jorden, and his sonne and diverse other were taken prysoners, and by their departyng, the compaigny of the Englyshemen was muche mynished.

The Lorde Maxwell beyng a politique man, perceived that, and sodainly called his people together, and them encoraged, and began a new skirmysh, and recovered al the prisoners almost, and toke diverse English men prysoners, this was the chaunce of warre.

After thys jorney, in the Court of Parliament of Scotlande, was much commonyng of the warres, whiche were betwene England and Scotland: some of the nobles sayed, that Fraunce never dyd so muche good to Scotlande in xx. yeres, as Scotlande had lost by Englande, in one yere, for the love and cause of Fraunce: wherfore they thought it convenient to make a perpetuall league of amitie, with the king of Englande, and to leave the French kinges parte. Other nobles whiche had pencyons in Fraunce, declared the old amitie betwene Fraunce and Scotland, and how the French kyng, brought up many gentlemen of Scotlande

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in his Courte, gevinge them greate livynges, whiche the kinge of England would not do: thei also alleged the franches, and privileges that the Scottes have in Fraunce, and specially they shewed, that yf the king of Scottes shoulde breake with Fraunce, and then if it happened the kyng of Englande, to invade Scotlande, whiche beyng wythout aide of any frend, myght wel by the power of England be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, and a truce graunted, til S. Andrewes day.

This yere the first day of September, was doctor Thomas Hanibal Maister of the Rolles, received into London, with erles, and byshops, and diverse other nobles and gentlemen, as Ambassador from Clement bishop of Rome, which brought wyth him a rose of golde, for a token to the kynge: the people as he passed, thought to have sene the rose, but it was not shewed, til he came to the kyng to Wyndsore, on the day of the Nativitie of our Lady, on which daye, after a solempne masse songe by the Cardinall of Yorke, the saide presente was delivered to the kynge, whiche was a tre forged with fine golde, and wrought with braunches, leaves and flowers, resemblyng Roses: this tree was set in a pot of gold, whiche had thre fete of antyke fashyon: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in thy uppermost Rose, was a faire Saphier loupe perced, the bignes of an Acorne, the tre was of heyght halfe an English yard, and in breth it was a fote. The sayd Ambassador in delivering the same Rose, made an oracion, declaryng the good mind, love and favor, that the bishop of Rome bare to the kynge, in token whereof he sent hym that present, which the kyng thankefully receyved, and delivered it to him again, and so he bare it open before the kyng, from the College to the great chamber, and there delivered it to the Mayster of the Juell house, and so there ended his legacion.

A Rose brought from Rome.

Before this time in the moneth of July, lord Archebalde Douglas erle of Anguishe, whych had maried the Quene of Scottes, sister to the kyng of Englande, and was sent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrary to his wyl and pleasure, and from thence hardely escaped, and came to the kyng of England, to hys maner of Grenewiche, and there besought him of his aide and comfort, to whom the

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the king made a gentle answer. This Erle was not in the favor of hys wife the Quene of Scottes, wherefore she caused hym to be sent into Fraunce: some said that she loved the duke of Albany, better then hym, but what soever the matter was, she wrote to the French king, that yf therle ever came again into Scotlande, that the French kyng should have no plesure in Scotlande, that she might let, so that the Erle beyng in Fraunce, was in jeoperdie of his lyfe. Wherfore secretly he fled and came into Englande, as you have hard, and one day at the Castle of Windsore he declared that in the counsail of Fraunce, when he was there, they happened in communicacion, to talke of the warres that were then, betwene the Emperor and the French kyng, and betwene the kyng of England and the French kyng: there was a Lorde of the counsayl, that stode up, and sayd, it were better that one person suffered, rather then al the realme should be dayly in this mischief. Then was it asked, what he meant by that one persone, he answered, that yf the French Quene, whiche was lame and ugly were dedde, that then wayes might be founde, that the French kyng should mary themperors sister, and to have wyth her the Duchy of Millain, and then wyth the money of her mariage, the kyng of England should be payed, and so a peace might be concluded: to this no answer was made, but whether this were true or false, for a truth the French quene was ded the xxvi. day July, and was buried at s. Denyse.

The Duke of Burbon this sommer, made sharp war on the French kynges dominions, and dyd hygh enterprises: wherfore the kynge of England sent his letters, to diverse lordes and gentlemen in this season, the tenor wherof ensueth. Trustie, &c. For as muche as (our lord God be thanked) our army, under the leading of our cosin the duke of Burbon, hath not onely entered the realme of Fraunce, gaining and attainyng many tounes, cities, castles and places, with the whole countrey of Province, wythout any resystence, of our auncient enemie the French kyng, but also goeth dayly marching, and continually doth chace, and drive before them such men of war, as our sayed enemy hath prepared for his defence, in the resistence of our cosin the Duke of Burbon, and our sayd army. In such wyse that it is thought undoubtedly, nowe to bee moste convenient

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convenient tyme and season, either in our persone (although the yere be somwhat past) or by a livetenaunt, wyth a puissant army to invade Fraunce, on the other syde, both for the recoveryng of the croune and to compell our sayde enemie, to knowlege his obstinate, wylful, and erronious demeanure, wherefore we wyll and commaunde you, to be redy with such power as you be able to make, upon the next Proclamacion to bee made, dated the tenth day of September.

After which letters sent furth, every man made preparacion accordyngly, and the people murmured and sayed, that it were much better that the kyng should mainteyn his warres, with his owne subjectes, and spende his treasure on them, then to trust the Duke of Burbon, beyng a straungier to spend hys money.

The king beyng at Windsore, to him came sir Anthony Fitz Herbert one of the Justices of the common place, a man of excellent lerning in the law, as appereth by his workes, sir Raufe Egerton knyght, doctor Denton Deane of Lichfele, whych in the beginning of thys yere, wer sente as Commissioners into Irelande, which so wisely endevored themselfes that thei reformed many injuries done in the countrey, and brought diverse of the wilde Irishe, by fayre meanes to a submission, and made by the kynges aucthoritie, the Erle of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the greate Oneele bare the sworde: and the lord Piers Butler, called Erle of Ormound, whych was deputie of Irelande, was by the sayd Commissioners, made hygh threasorer of Ireland. And when they had set al thynges in good ordre, in the moneth of September they toke shyppyng, and in the same monethe came to the kinge, which gave them hys harty thankes, for their good doynges.

In thys moneth the king sent Maister Thomas Magnus Priest, and Roger Ratcliffe Esquier into Scotlande, for the suretie of his nephew the kyng of Scottes, for diverse lordes of Scotland, wrote to the kinge that they doubted the suretie for their kinge, because the duke of Albany which was heire apparant to the realme of Scotlande had the kynge in governaunce, and also they thought, he beyng a Frenchman borne, shuld not rule their realme: wherfore thei emongest themselfes, murmured sore in this matter. The Duke hearyng, that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the

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the kynge of Englande, and also that they repyned and grudged at his doynges, sodainly with al the threasure that he could make, departed from Scotlande, and sailed into Fraunce, with which departyng the commons were nothing sory, and sone after his departing, the Ambassadors of England, were joyously receyved into Scotland, and there the sayd Ambassadoures taried, till Marche twelve monethe, in which tyme there were many conclusions driven, betwene the two realmes: now let us returne to Fraunce.

The xxiiii. day of September, thre horsemen of the garrison of Bullein, whych well knew the haven of Calice, came at a nepe tide, and passed over Calice haven, by Ryse banke in the nyght, and went behind the Est Wyndmill, and then tooke lande, and wente to a litle vyllage called Middilwaye, and passed the Turne Pikes, and entred into a Whelers house and toke the man and the wyfe, and xx. l. in money sterlyng, and went away clere wythout askrye of perceyving of the watch of Calice and no man wyst where they were become, til the Trompet of Bullein brought worde and demaunded the raunsome.

The last day of September, fyfty lyght horsemen of Calice, apperteignyng to sir Robert Jerningham, rode toward Bullein, and passed the water of Margison, and came to the water of Sclakes nere Bullein where sodainly thei encountered lx. Frenchmen, of the garrison of Bullein, there was shotyng wyth long bowes and crosebowes, on every side strong was the fyght, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englyshemen folowed, and toke thre lyght horsemen, and when they perceyved the Alarme on every side, they put them selfes in array, and with their botie came to Calice.

The same daye sir Thomas Palmer, with xl. horsemen of Guisnes encountered with the captain Bertrain, leader of the horsemen of therle Dammartin, with lx. horsemen, there was a strong fyght two houres together, but in the ende the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishemen folowed, and toke xviii. prysoners, and xvi. good horse, and wyth thys botie they returned to Guysnes.

In this busie season, the aventurers hearing what the horsemen, on their parties had done, and in especial perceivyng that thenglish horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned

commoned emongest themselfes, what was to be done, then one of their capitaynes said openly: sirs you se how long we have bene here, and wages we have none, our living riseth on the gaine of our enemies, and syth our beginnynge, we have had good chaunce in all our enterprises. God be thanked: nowe the Winter draweth nere, let us now aventure to get som good botie, to make us mery with, in the cold wether, and yf you wyl, we shall enterpryse a thing that I truste to us shalbee profitable. Then all the compaignie cried fur the furth. Then wyth a banner of sainct George, they marched toward a vyllage, liyng towarde Mustrel, having onely xxv. light horsemen, to be their skourers, and they were not fully two hundred men. This compaigny folowing their skourers, went farre on, and had gotten a faire botie, of Oxen, Kine, and other beastial, and were here at their returne and by chaunce the same day, was the erle of Dammartin, and the captayn of Mustrel, with the power of the duke of Vandosme, goyng towarde sainct Omers to burne and destroy that countrey, and for that purpose thei had gathered together xv. C. horsemen, and viii. C. footmen, how be it, the footmen were a large myle behind the horsemen. THE XVI. YERE [1524-25]

The Frenchmen on horsebacke, espyed the English horsemen, which perceiving the great nomber fled, and as the said Frenchmen marched forward, they espyed the aventurers on foote, and made toward them: thenglishmen seing the great nomber of the horsemen, studied to get som hedge or stronge place to fortifie theim, but there was no suche place in sight, and also they had no suche tyme so to do, wherefore the captayne sayed: Good felowes and brethren, we have of long time bene called aventurers, now is the tyme come of our aventure, the Frenchmen wyll not raunsome us for nothing, we be emongest them so feared: if any thing save our lyves, it must be God, and our hardines, and therfore sayd he if you se me begin to flie, slaye me out of hande. Then every man cryed God mercie, and kneled doune and kissed the earth, and strake handes eche wyth other, in token not to depart, and then made themselfs prest to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on every syde, thenglishmen shot their arrowes, and defended them aswel as they could. The

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The Frenchmen perceiving that the Englishmen kept them selfs so close, caused diverse of the horse men to lyght a fote, and so they dyd, and fought wyth their speres against the pikes, and shote wyth Crossebowes on every syde. Alas, the while for while the Englyshmen had arrowes to shote, they were not broken, but close wythout peryl, but when their arrowes were spent, the Englyshmen fought valiauntly, and slew many Frenchmen that lyghted on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all in maner, because there were so many of their compaignie slain and toke fewe of them prisoners. This was thend of these compaignions, called the krekers or aventurers, which were as hardie men, as ever served prince or captain.

The end of the aventurers.

The duke of Burbon, wyth the Marques of Picardy, in the moneth of October, wyth a great puyssaunce, layed siege to the strong toune of Marcel in Province, and laye there a great space. The Frenche kynge reised a great armye, and sware that he would reise the siege, whereof hearynge the Duke of Burgon, sent for the Marques of Piscare, and hys other captains, and declared to them that hys intent was, to geve the French king battayl: the Marques of Piscare sayed that the Frenche kynges puissaunce was greate, and theirs final, and sayde: althoughe the duke of Burbon, whych was a banished man from hys countrey, had no other remedy to revenge him, but by battail, yet he sayd, he would not put al the Emperors men, of the whyche he had the guide, in such a hasard, till the remnant of the Emperours power were come. Wel said the duke of Burbon, then you do not as you have written, both to the Emperor and to the king of England, whych shalbe a reproche to your honor: Nay sayd the Marques, I wil kepe me from reproche. Then said doctor Richard Pace, Ambassador to the kyng of Englande: my lorde you have had the king my maisters wages, I woulde be glad to heare what way you woulde take: I wol tel you said the Marques, the French kyng hath a great armie gone into Italy, and he him selfe foloweth with another, not to come to fight with us I dare assure you: but only to take the Duches of Millain unprovided, whiche shal do him more pleasure then he had slain all us. Also the Emperor shal lese, more then x. Marceles be worth, and the

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the French kinges power shalbe more elated, that he wil not set by the Emperor, nor the kyng of England. Therfore my advise is, to breake up thys siege, and with all spede to prevent hym in Italy, and yf we be entered the tounes, and put municions in the same, he shal lye a colde in the feldes, and then you shal se what shal become of hym, when hys beastes dye, and his vitail spente. To thys counsail the duke and all the Capytaynes agreed, and so brake up the siege, and wyth al hast departed into Italy, and fortified all the tounes in the Duchie of Millein and other necessaries.

The French kynge hearinge of this, wyth al hys armye passed the Mountaignies, and Camped nere to Millain. It chaunced in this monethe of November the xiii. day aboute the toune of Calice, there fel a great mist, in which mist the Frenchmen came to a village called Kause besyde Newnam brydge, and toke xl. beastes, then the Alarme was brought to Calice, whiche hearing the Marshal of Calice, called to hym sir Robert Jerningham, and they had with them i. C. xx. horsemen, and sent syr Anthony Browne, to tel the capitain of Guysnes, what they entended to do, but they taryed not for the company of Guysnes, but marched so far forward, that they came to the water of Sclaukes, which is nere Bullein, and there they set their stale. And in the morninge betime, they sent furth a gentleman called Richard Lambert, wyth xx. light horsemen on swyfte geldinges, and they came by Moone light nere Bullein, and then they saw the men of Bullein and other there about, put out their beastes into the feld. Then the Englyshmen wyth great diligence brought all the beastes together, and so began to drive theim together, toward their embushement. Then the Alarme began at Bullein, and the men of war issued out of the toune, and fought wyth thenglyshmen, their horses wer fresh, wherfore they had a great avauntage, but in conclusion thre French menne were slayne, and their horses taken, and so the lyght horsemen came wyth their catail, nere to the embushment, and the Frenchmen folowed, that seyng the Englyshmen that kept the stale, came in al hast and rescued their light horsemen, and drave the Frenchemen backe, and then made returne to their beastes, and as they were returnyng, they had worde brought to them, how that syr Wylliam Fytz William captayne of Guisnes of his retinue, were besiegyng a pile

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pile called the castle of Capel, wherefore they sped them thether in all haste, and when they were come thether, the captain of Guysnes them hartelye welcomed, and then they concluded to geve an assault to the castle, and so wyth good courage set on, the Frenchmen defended it very valyantly a great whyle, but at the last the Englyshmen gat over the diches, and scaled the walles, but the Frenchmen styl them defended, till the Englishmen had gotten to the highest of the dongion, and then was there slaiyng a pace. For there wer liii. persones slaine out of hande, in revenginge the greate obstinacie of the Frenchmen, and the castle was rased and brent. Then sir William Fitz William wyth hys boty, and sir Jhon Wallop Marshal of Calyce and sir Jhon Jernyngham returned, he to Guisnes, and thei to Calice. The same day xiiii. Burgonyons and xiiii. Spanyardes, al horsemen of Guysnes, came to the Church of Falske, not farre from Durnam at high Masse tyme, and there drew their swordes, and so much dyd that al the men in the church, to the nomber of fyftie, yelded them selfes prisoners, of whiche nomber they toke eyght persones wyth them, whyche shuld be gages for the remnant, and with these viii. thei came to Guisnes.

The xix. day of December were receyved into London, lorde Gilbert Kevet Erle of Castelles, sir Robert Cockburne bishop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskenel, Ambassadors from James the fyfth kyng of Scottes, by the byshop of Lyncolne, the lorde of sainct Jhones, and diverse other noble men, and wer conveighed to their lodgynges at Tailers Haule.

The xxiii. daye of December, the sayd Ambassadors were conveighed to Grenewiche, accompaignied with the sayd lordes by water, and when they came to the utter gate, they were receyved of the offycers of the house, and so passed throughe the haule, whych was wel furnished with people, and so through the uttermost chamber, into the great chamber of presence, where they were received and welcomed, of al the princes and nobles of the realme, and within a short space the king came furth, and set him self in a throne of thre steppes hyghe, under his clothe of estate, whyche was very rich, but his apparel was exceding rich, both of goldsmithes worke and perle and stone which the Scottes wel avysed, and then they wisely and humbly made their

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their obeysaunce, and the byshop in good plaine latin made a solempne Oracion, in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he, had often times hard the renoune and fame of him and his Course, both for the gyftes of grace and nature, whych wer in his persone, yet he saied that his princely countenaunce, his lovely favor, which he hymself did se, did muche surmount the fame and name, which he hath hard of reporte. He declared further, that although fortune had hym favored, in conqueryng of regions, and vanquishyng of battailes, yet that thyng was not so honorable to him, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, whiche pleaseth bothe God and man, and for that cause he shewed, that kyng James the fifth his nephew, and felowe to the kyng of England, had sent them his Ambassadors, to entreate a peace, so that a convenient mariage might be made, betwene hym and the lady Mary, doughter to the kyng, whiche should be a lincke necessary, to knit together the realme of Scotlande and Englande, in perpetuall love and amitie.

To whiche Oracion, the bishop of London doctor Tunstall answered and saied: that the kyng was at their desire, content to have peace upon reasonable condicions, and as touchynge mariage of his daughter, he would so answere theim, that thei should be contented. Then the kyng rose from his place and welcomed theim, and all the honest persones of the train, and after communicacion had, thei tooke their leave for that tyme, and so toke their barge and came to London.

Before the feast of Christmas, the lorde Leonard Grey, and the lord Jhon Grey, brethren to the Marques Dorcet, sir George Cobham sonne to the lord Cobham, Willyam Cary, sir Jhon Dudley, Thomas Wiat, Fraunces Pointz, Fraunces Sidney, sir Antony Broune, sir Edward Seimour, Oliver Manners, Percival Harte, Sebastian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen Esquires of the Kynges housholde, enterprised a chalenge of feactes of armes, against the feast of Christmas, wherefore they sent Wyndsore herault, on sainct Thomas day before Christmas, into the Quenes great chamber, the kyng being present, which herault had a coate of armes of red silke, beaten with a goodly Castle, of foure Turrettes silver, and in every turret a faire lady, standyng gorgiously appareled: the herault after that the Trumpet had blowen, saied

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saied where the kyng our sovereigne Lorde, of his bountifull goodnes, hath geven to foure maidens of his Court, the castle of Loyaltie, to dispose at their pleasure, the saied maidens have geven the custodie therof, to a capitain and fiftene gentlemen with hym, whiche capitain sent furth me his Herault called *Chasteau Blanche*, to declare to all kynges and princes, and other gentlemen of noble corage, that the saied capitain wil nere to his Castle raise a Mount, on whiche shall stande an Unicorne, supportyng foure faire shildes.

The firste shilde shalbe White, and whosoever toucheth that shelde shalbe answered sixe courses at the Tilt, by them of the Castle, with hostyng harnes and double peces.

The second shilde, Red, betokenyng the Turnay, and whosoever toucheth that shild, shalbe answered tenne strokes at the Turnay, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The third shild yelow, signifiyng the Barriers, and he that toucheth that shilde shalbee answered twelve strokes at the Barriers, wyth the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The fourth shilde blewe, betokenyng the assaulte, with such wepons as the capitain of the Castle shal occupie, that is, Morrice pike, sworde, target, the poynt and edge abated.

Also the saied capitain and his compaignie promise, to defend the said Castle against al commers, beeyng gentlemen of name and armes, and the assaulters to devise, all maner of engynes for the assaultyng, edge tole, to breake the house and ground, onely except, and also that no other weapon shalbe used, but suche as the patron shalbe sette up, by the saied Unicorne, and that no manne medle with fire within or without, but the matches for gonnes, and every prisoner taken on either partie, to paye for his raunsom iiii. yeardes of right satten, and every capitain xiii. yardes.

Accordyng to this Proclamacion was the Mounte, and al thynges devised sumpteously, with a greate craggy braunche, on which wer hanged the shildes of the armes of the capitain, and all other of the Castle. For this enterprise there was set up, in the Tilte yard at Grenewiche a castle square every waye xx. foote, and fiftie foote on heigh, very strong and of great timber, well fastened with yron, the embatelmentes, loupes and every place where men shoulde entre, wer set

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set with great rolles, and turned assone as thei wer touched, so that to semynge no man could entre the towers, nor embatilmentes. On the North and South sides, were two greate diches, xv. foote depe, from the brinke to the botome, and thei were very stepe, and betwene the diche and Castle, was set a pale, whych was rampaired with yearth so stepe and thicke, that it was not likely to begotten. On these diches were twoo drawe bridges, on the West side was a greate rampire or banke, very stepe without and within, and like to a vamure of a fortresse, by the vamure the diches wer xxiiii. fote depe. When the strength of this castle was well beholden, many made dangerous to assault it, and some sayd it could not be wonne by sporte, but by ernest. The kyng mynded to have it assaulted, and devised engins ther fore, but the Carpenters wer so dull, that thei understode not his entent and wrought all thyng contrary, and so for that tyme the assaulte was prolonged, and all the other poyntes of the chalenge held, for the morow after sainct Jhon the Evangelistes daye in Christmas, came out of the castle, sixe men of armes of the castle, on horsebacke armed at al pointes with their speres ready to discharge, and so came to the ende of the Tylt, abidyng al commers. Then sodainly entered into the feld, twoo ladies on twoo palfreis, in great robes of purple damaske leadyng two ancient knightes, wyth beardes of silver, in the same apparell, and when they came before the Quene, thei put up a bill to her, the effect wherof was, that although youth had left them, and age was come, and would lette theim to do feactes of armes: Yet courage, desire, and good will abode with theim, and bad theim to take upon them to breake speres, whiche they would gladly do, yf it pleased her to geve them license. When the Quene and the ladies had seen the byll, they praised their corage, and gave them licence.

Then the knightes threw awaie their robes, and then it was knowen that it was the Kyng, and the Duke of Suffolk, whose bardes and bases were gold, embraudered with purple, silver, and Blacke, very curiously. After them folowed the Erle of Devonshire, the Lorde Montacute, the Lorde Roos, sir Nicholas Carewe, sir Frances Brian, Henry Norreis, Anthony Knevet, and five other, every man ran eight courses, in which courses the kyng brake seven speres. Every man that day did well, so that the Scottes much praised

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praised the men of armes of Englande, but moste of all thei preised and marveiled at the Kynges strength, for thei saw his speres wer broken with more force, then the other speres wer.

When all the courses wer ronne, the kyng and al the other disarmed them, and went to supper, and after supper the kyng havyng with him, the Ambassadors of Scotland, came into the Quenes chamber, where after that the Lordes, and diverse Ladies had daunced, there came in a Maske of xvi. all appareled in clothe of Golde, riche tynsell and crimosyn velvet, cut, slit, and tied very curiously, their buskins and shoen wer gold, cappes and whoddes all gold, riche and not counterfected: of this nomber the Kyng and the Duke of Suffolk wer twoo, then the Maskers toke Ladies, and daunsed a greate season, and that doen was brought in wyne and spices, and the straungiers wel cherished, and after that conveighed toward their lodgyng. And as thei went thei asked a gentleman which accompaignied theim, yf all the warre tyme the Kyng and the lordes were so mery, or had suche joyous pastyme, or kepte suche Royall housholde, or were so well appareled: for in their countrey they sayd, in tyme of warre, was nothyng but wailyng and mournyng, and also thei thought that the realme of Fraunce, is not a realme to sport with, nor Maske with. The gentleman answered, that the kynge and his courte, used them still al the warre tyme, as thei dooe now, for thei set not by the French kyng one bene. For the kyng of England maie sit in his chaire and dammage the French kyng, for the Lordes and comminaltie of England, praie for the continuance of warre, for by the warres of Fraunce they wynne, and lese not, at whiche saiyng the Scottes muche mused.

Fridaie the xxx. day of December, therle of Castels one of the Scottishe Ambassadors toke his leave, and departed toward Scotlande: for to common with the Counsaill of Scotland, for thynges whiche were not in their commission, and left behynd hym the Bishoppe of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskenell: some saied tharticle was, that the Scottes should forsake the French kyng, and that the kyng of Scottes should come into Englande, but whatsoever it was, every man knewe it not.

The second daie of January, there was much talkyng of the assault of the Castle, and so after long debate, sir Frances Brian,

Brian, and Fraunces Poyntz, enterprised to defende the West braie of the Castle, with Pike Target, and Sworde, poynt and edge abated, against sir George Cobham George Harbert, Jhon Poyntz, and Willyam Knevet, and when thei were al armed, the Trumpettes blewe, then toward the braie marched the foure gentlemen, with pikes and swordes, and cried *harr, harr*, there was foynyng, lasshyng, and strikyng, they within fought mightely and when any without clymed up the banke, thei within bet them doune thei within were sometyme beten doune almost: but surely thei fought valiantly, and then they seased for a while.

Then began the assaulte againe, and George Harbert and Willyam Knevet, helde them twoo within so hard, that thei could scant put their heddes over the braye, or bulwerke. While they two thus still fought, their two felowes, sir George Cobham, and Jhon Poyntz, with their swordes digged holes in the banke to clyme up, but or they had dooen, their twoo compaignions were fought out of brethe, then sir Fraunces Brian and Frances Poyntz, fought with the other two that digged, and then on came thother two, that had brethed themselfes, then fierce was the fight, and Jhon Poyntz gat footyng in the banke above, and toke holde of the pale, and fought hande to hande, with Fraunces Poyntz hys brother, and ever George Harbert sustenied him, at the banke with his pike, sir Edwarde Cobham gat the banke, and fought hardely, but at the last he was overthrowen, but up he gat again, and coragiously gat the pale: they two within fought valiantly, but they wer over matched, for they that fought at the pale without, by aide of their felowes gatte over the pale, and then was the battaill ended. I thynke that there was never battaill of pleasure, better fought then this was.

The next day after was another fight, of foure and eight whyche was sore foughten, and at last the braye taken, and when the combates were disarmed, sodainly all the younge persones without, threwe stones at them within the castle, and they at theim, and many honest men whiche threwe not wer hurt, and with muche peyn they without wer apeised, and no man knewe how nor why, this hurlyng began.

The fifth daye of January, all the knightes of the castle, came to the barriers to abide all men, thether came the kyng and many other lordes and gentlemen, and that daye by them of

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of the castle, were delivered lviii. gentlemen, and lviii. battailes fought valiantly, the kyng himself fought coragiously, and so did all the other. The eight day of February, the gentlemen of the castle folowyng their chalenge, came into the felde, ready to answere al commers. To this turnay came the kyng, his base and bard wer cloth of silver, and blacke velvet ruffed and not plain, and over that was a worke of purple velvet, embraudered richely with gold, cutte in knottes or foldes fastened, so that it bossed out and frounced very stately to behold. After the Kyng came xix. other richely appareld, the Kyng and Sir Anthony Broune Turnaied together, and the kyng with his sword, poynt and edge abated, had almoste cut his poldron, his strokes were so greate. Then every man turnaied as his course came, and many a sworde was broken, and many a good stripe geven, and when every man had striken the full nomber of twelve strokes, thei wer severed and then they disarmed.

The Observaunt Friers would not obeye the Cardinall.

In this monethe the Cardinal as legate, by hys power Legantyne, would have visited the Friers Observauntes, but they in nowise would there in condiscende, wherefore xix. of the same religion, were accursed at Paules Crosse, by one of the same religion called Frier Forest. *Of this Frier Forest ye shall here more here after, in the thirtie yere of this Kyng.*

In this season the French kyng was in Italy, with all his nobilitie, and to hym was Millain yelded, but because of pestilence he would not entre, but departed and laied siege to the strong toune of Pavia, whereof was capitain a valiant Spanyard, called Antony de Leva. The French kynges mother beyng Regent of Fraunce, perceivyng that the kyng her soonne, with all his good Capitaines were in Italy, doubted that the kyng of Englande, in the nexte Spryng tyme would invade Fraunce. Wherfore she by the advice of the counsaill of Fraunce, did so much with the kyng of England, that her Stuard of houshold called Jhon Jokin, had a saveconduit to come into Englande, whiche was kept close in the house of docter Larke, a Prebendary of sainct Stevens, and every daye prively spake with the Cardinal, and so secretly he remained, til the xxiiii. day of January, at whiche day came to London, the president of Roan called Monsire Brynyon, as an Ambassador from Frances the French kyng, and was lodged with Jhon Jokyn: this Jhon Jokyn was kept privie, because that no man

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man shoulde knowe, that there was any man of Fraunce, here to sollicite any cause for the Frenche Kyng, whiche after grewe to greate trouble. For he shewed hymself to straungiers, which favored the Frenche partie, and so at last it was openly knowen, to the kynges counsaill, and almoste to all men: but when the Emperors Ambassador knewe this darke dealyng, he mused not a litle and saied, that the Cardinal did drive privie driftes, and that by his meanes onely, Jhon Jokyn was come into England, to entreate a peace in secret maner, or the kynges frendes might knowe it, and all people saied that Jhon Jokyn was but a caste away of Jeane, and had no livyng to live on, but of the lady Regent, and marveiled why he should be kept close, and so much cherished of the Cardinall. For this kepyng close of this Jokyn, Englishemen wer rebuked at the Marte in Flaunders, and Brabant. The Emperors Ambassador and the bishop of Romes Ambassador also sore murmured, why this Jhon Jokyn should bee kept as a spirite in close, consideryng that there was open warre betwene the twoo kynges, and feared that the kynges counsaill should be corrupt. This Jhon Jokyn was muche with the Cardinall, but never was seen with the kyng nor his counsaill, but for all the secretnes, Monsire Pratt themperors Ambassadour, knewe all the offers that he made for peace (whiche in deede wer very greate) and how he had offered pencions, to diverse young men aboute the kyng, of the which some wer very glad, and so the noyse by reson of suche offers ran, that a peace was likely to ensue in shorte space.

Monsire Pratt wrote of this matter, in all hast to the Emperor, in the which letters he highly commended the kyng of England, for his stedfastnes: but he sayed some of the kynges counsaill, loved neither the Emperour nor the kyng of England, and wrote to hym farther, all the maner of the secret kepyng of Jhon Jokyn. These letters at last wer brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunce it was not openly knowen, and so he sent for Monsir Pratt, and declared to hym the matter, which answered him, that he was counsailer and Ambassador to the Emperour, and that it was his parte, to assertein the Emperor of every thyng, that was or might sound prejudicial to his majestie, but howsoever that his answere was taken, he was not favored with the Cardinall, but he sayed openly, that it was not well ment to the Emperor,

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Emperor, to stoppe his packet with letters and to open them, and the Spanyardes saied, that the Emperor sent them not into England to slepe, but to do him service. The byshop of Romes Ambassador wrote to his master, that peace was likely to be concluded, betwene Englande and Fraunce, and willed hym to bee the firste frende to the Frenche kynge, rather then the seconde. Of whiche writyng came harme after, as you shall heare.

In this moneth tidynges came to the Kyng, howe the Marques of Piscaire in Italy, had gotten from the Frenche kyng, a castle called the castle s. Angell, which was a greate fortificacion, of his siege at Pavie.

Treason at Heddyng castle.

There was in this moneth a Flemyng in Heddyng Castle, whyche came often tymes to sainct Omers, and promised them yf they would come to Heddyng, he would deliver the castle. Upon his worde thei of sainct Omers, gathered together seven hundred footemen, and five hundred horsemen, and poynted with the spie, that the fourthe day of February, thei would come thether, and when the false knave knewe the day, he told Monsire Pontdormie, Capitain of Heddyng, which incontinent filled the castle with men of warre, and laied busshementes on every side, and had laied the ordinaunce, all on the one side of the Castle, that way that the Flemynges should come. The men of warre of sainct Omers, were conveighed by their spie, mistrustyng nothyng, to a posterne, which was litle used, and when there were as many in, as the Frenchmen thought sufficient, thei let fal the Portcolis: Then Monsire Pontdormie cried, slaie, slaie, then the Flemynges wist that they wer betraied, and put them selfes to fight for their lives, that seyng Monsire Pontdormie, commaunded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and fury, that the flame was so greate and fierce, that it brent the saied Lorde Pontdormie, and xxvii. of his compaignions all gentlemen, the trayne was so hastely fiered, that thei had no leasure to avoyde. In the fight tenne of the Flemynges wer slain, and thirtie kept themselfes so hardely together, that their lives were graunted them, and so was taken as prisoners, the remnant that entred lept over the castle wal, and so saved themselfes, and tolde newes to their horsmen, which wer without, which hearyng the mischaunce, returned toward sainct Omers.

Sundaie the fifth day of March, wer received into London, Monsire

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Monsire de Bever lorde of Champhere, Admiral of Flaunders, and the President of Malynes, called Maister Jhon de la Coos, and Maister Jhon de la Gache, as Ambassadors from the lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor, for causes of the lowe countreis, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Zelande: and on Tewesday thei wer brought to the kyng to Bridwel, whiche nobely theim enterteined, and then thei shewed how themperors majestie, had commaunded theim to obey the kyng of England, as protector and governor, wherfore thei and all theirs, wer at his commaundement, and yf thei had doen other wise, and not obeyed hym as their governor, thei asked him mercy, then the kyng and thei talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadors demaunded thre thinges. Ambassadors of Flaunders.

First, thei demaunded the ladie Mary the kynges onely daughter, to be delivered to theim out of hande, and she to be named Emprisse, and to take possession of all the lowe countreis, and to be governor of the same, this article was not agreed to, for causes. 1

Also that all suche sommes of money, as the Kyng should geve with her in mariage, for a dower to be made to her, shoulde be paied incontinent, this article was also denied. 2

Thirdly, that the kyng of England hymself, should passe the sea and make warre in Fraunce, the next Sommer, to this the kynge saied he would take advisement. 3

Thursday the ix. day of Marche, at vii. of the clocke in the mornyng there came a gentleman in poste, from the ladye Margaret governesse of Flaunders, and brought letters, shewyng how that the xxiiii. daie of February, the siege of Pavia, where the Frenche kyng had lien long, was raised by force of battaill, and the Frenche kyng hymselfe taken prisoner, and how by the Duke of Burbon, the Viceroy of Naples called Myngnovale, and the Marques of Piscaire, and other of the Emperors capitaines, the whole power of Fraunce was discomfited, and how the duke of Albany with seven thousande men, was goyng to Naples, and how the bishop of Rome was become French, against the Emperor, and had sent his cosyn in aide of the French kyng, with a great power. The same daie the president of Roan and Jhon Jokyn, wer goyng to the Court (for they had not yet spoken with the kyng) and in Holburne in their way was tidynges brought them, of the takyng of

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of the kyng their Master, and of the losse of the feld, which hearyng this misaventure, returned to their lodgyng sorowfull, and within shorte space, returned to the Regent of Fraunce. It was thought surely that the kyng of England, would have had peace with the French kyng, yf this chaunce had not happened, for all the people of Englande, grudged against Flaunders, for their evill entreatyng, in the tyme of warre, and also the kynge was displeased with theim, for enhaunsyng his coyne there, which was a cause that money was dayly conveighed out of the Realme, and many other causes ther were of grudge.

A triumph for the taking of the Frenche Kyng.

Saterdaye the xi. daie Marche, in the citie of London for these tydynges, wer made greate fiers and triumph, and the Maior and Aldermen road about the citie with Trumpettes, and much wyne was laied in diverse places of the citie, that every man might drynke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadours of Rome, of Flaunders, and Venice, had a greate banket made in a goodly tent, whych pleased theim well, and as thei returned homewarde, all the stretes were full of harnessed men and Cressettes, attendyng on the Constables, whiche they preised muche.

Sonday the xii. of Marche, the kyng accompaignied with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperor, of Scotland, of Venice, of Millain and Florence, road in his estate to Paules churche, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, and a xi. prelates waited on hym in pontificalles, and after Masse was doen, the quere sang *Te deum*, and the mynstrelles plaied on every side, and when all was doen, the kyng returned to Bride wel, and there kept a solempne dinner. The bishop of Scotland was muche marked this day, for whensoever he came to the Court, before this time his apparell was sumpteous, his whodde was ever velvet or crimosyn Satyn: but after the takyng of the French kyng, he ware onely blacke Chamlet, by whych token men judged his Frenche harte.

The true report of the takyng of the French kyng.

From the ix. day of Marche to the xvi. day, the kyng had no mo letters, of the maner of battaill of Pavie, and that day he received a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a gentleman called Gropayne: when the kyng had redde the letter, he came into the Quenes Chamber, and there the saied Gropayne declared the maner of the siege, and how well it was planted, and how themperors men entered the French

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French campe by force, and threwe doune their bastiles, and fought with the Frenchmen, within their Campe, and tooke their kyng prisoner in the same, and many other whiche was marveil. For when the French kyng entered Italy, he had in his gard xi. C. men, and of speres furnished twoo M. iii. C. l. and of light horsemen eight hundred and xx. and of footemen lxii. M. and of these the duke of Albany had but eight thousande, so that there remayned with the Frenche kyng xlix. M. ix. C. and fiftie men, wherof was taken xiiii. M. and mo, beside the great riches, and the goodly ordinance which were xii. greate Bombardes of brasse, and xxiiii. greate Canon peces, xxiiii. double Curtalles, four double Canon peces, two middle Canon peces, and eight other peces. After the feld was doen, the French kyng was put in the custodie of the Viceroy of Naples, whiche muche comforted hym, and preised his valiauntnes, and praied hym to be content, for he should have a gentle ende, then he desired to write to his mother, whiche was to hym graunted, the very wordes wer these.

'To advertise you of my infortunate chaunce: Nothyng 'is left but the honor, and the life that is saved, and because 'some other newes shal recomforte you, I have desired to 'write to you this letter, the which liberally hath been 'graunted to me: besechyng you to regard the extremitie 'of your selfe, in ensuyng your accustomed wisedome. For 'I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you 'recommendyng your litle enfantes, and myne, suppliyng 'you to geve saveconduite, to passe and returne from 'Spain, to this berar that goeth toward the Emperor, to 'know in what wyse I shalbe intreated, and thus right 'humbly to your good grace, I have me recommended: 'This subscribed by your humble and obedient sonne 'Frances.'

The Cardynal first began to suppresse Abbeies.

This season the Cardinal beyng in the kynges favor, obteined licence to make a College at Oxforde, and another at Ipswyche, and because he would geve no landes to the sayd Colleges, he obteined of the bishop of Rome, license to suppresse and put doune diverse Abbayes, Priories, and Monasteries, to the nomber of

wherfore sodainly he entered by his Commissioners, into the saied houses, and put out the Religious, and tooke all their goodes, moveables, and scarcely gave to the poore wretches any

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any thyng, except it wer to the heddes of the house, and then he caused thexcheter to sit, and to finde the houses voyde, as relynquished, and founde the kyng founder, where other men wer founders, and with these landes he endewed with al his Colleges, which he began so sumpteous and the scholers wer so proude, that every persone judged, that thende would not be good, as you shall heare, five yeres hereafter.

The Scottes returned into Scotlande.

The Erle of Castelles which was sent into Scotlande, returned into England, the xix. daie of Marche, but because the French kyng was taken, his commission for the moste part was determined, and so he and all his compaignie toke their leave of the kyng, and without any reward returned into Scotlande, the fourth daie of Aprill.

In this monethe of Marche, the Kyng sent Cutberd Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wyngfeld, Chanceller of the Duchy of Lancastre, and Knight of the Gartier, into Spain to the Emperour for greate causes concernynge the takyng of the Frenche kyng, and in especiall for warres to be made on Fraunce, on every side. For so the kyng of England and his counsaill, were agreed and determined: and the same moneth the Ambassadors, departed again into Flaunders.

Commissions.

The counsail remembryng that it was determined, that the kyng in proper persone should passe the sea, they considered that above all thynges, greate threasure and plentie of money, must nedes be had in a readines: wherefore by the Cardinall were devised straunge Commissions, and sent in the ende of Marche to every shire, and Commissioners appoynted, which wer the greatest men of every shire: and privie instruccions sent to them, to saie and ordre the people, and the tenor was, that the sixt part of every mannes substaunce, should without delaie bee payed in money or plate, to the kyng, for the furniture of his warre: wherefore the Cardinall, as chief Commissioner for London, sent for sir Willyam Bayly knight, then Maior of the citie, and the Aldermen, and diverse hedde Comminers, and sayd to them in maner folowyng. You the kynges welbeloved frendes and subjectes, of the citie of London, I must declare to you, how the kyng contrary to his awne mynd and will, but compelled of verie force, is determined to entre into a new war, for the more explanacion of the truthe, you shall understande,

The proposition of the Cardynall.

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stande, that after that Fraunces the Frenche kyng that now is, had obteigned the Croune and scepter of the realme of Fraunce, he moste humbly sued to the kyng our Master, for peace, love, and amitie, promisyng upon the Evangelistes, to kepe the league then concluded, and also to paie to lady Mary quene dowager of Fraunce, her due pencion and doware, to her graunted by kyng Lewes her husbande. After this he by his Ambassadors, humbly desired the citie of Turnay, which kyng Lewes before tyme had loste: the kyng which would that the citie of Turnay, shoulde bee no cause of grudge, betwene hym and the Frenche kyng, consented that for certaine sommes of money, it should be delivered. And farther the more to bynd amitie betwene theim, the kyng was content, that a communicacion of mariage should be had, betwene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the ladie Marie Princes of England, yet for to entreate more love, familiaritie, and acquaintance, the king to his greate cost and charge passed the sea, and met in persone with the Frenche kyng, thynkyng that by reason of personall sight and actuall communicacion, that more stable and ferme love should growe betwene them, then by writyng, at which time it was undoubtedly thought that there could be no more love be knit, betwen two persones. There were covenauntes made and sworne, and the kyng our Master saied to the French kyng: Brother now that you and I be thus knit, I require you to kepe ferme peace, and amitie, with my nephew themperor: and also suffre not Duke Jhon of Albany, to go into Scotlande, for puttyng the young king my nephewe, in jeoperdie of his persone, wherfore if you love me, in especiall kepe these two articles: if you observe these articles, and al other covenauntes betwene us agreed, I assure you there had never prince a surer frende, then you shall have of me. Then the French kyng laied his hand in myne (said the Cardinall) and sware by the othe of a kyng, he would observe and kepe fermely, these poyntes with many mo, and after the Kynges were departed, and that the Emperoure was come to the kyng to Calice: the French kyng sent Monsir de la Roche baron with letters, declaryng that he was in perfecte league and amitie with the Emperor, and this notwithstandyng, he within lesse space then halfe a yere, sent Robert de la Marche, to invade the Emperors lande, and made warre in Naverre and other places. The kyng our

The saiyng of the Kyng of England.

The othe of the Frenche Kyng.

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our Master hearyng this, of his mere charitie sent me, and other nobles with a greate trayne to Calice, to knowe by whom the war began, for he promised to be enemie to hym that brake firste. To which place came from the Frenche kyng, his Chanceller, and Monsire de la Palice, and many other noble men. And from the Emperor came his Chanceller, and the lord Chevers, and there in open counsaill, the Emperors Ambassadors, did shewe the French kynges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced and began the warre: to which poynte the Frenche Ambassadours could not answere. What should I saie, the warre was open on bothe parties, I sent to the French kyng Ambassadors, to entreate peace, but in nowise he would consent, wherfore I with my compaignie returned. In the meane season (although I doubted nothyng, the Frenche kynges faithe toward our Maister) yet for a more suertie, I obteigned a saveconduit for the English Merchauntes, that thei should go to Burdaux, and upon suertie of that oure Merchantes passed, yet he contrary to his saveconduit, toke the Merchantes goodes, and put their bodies in prison, whiche the Turke woulde not have doen. The kyng sent gentely to him, his herault Clarenseux, desiryng him to redresse all these enormities, and to paie him his sommes of money, due to hym and to the Quene his sister, for her dower, which to do he refused and denied, whiche thynges you knowe, the kyng of his honor might not suffre. Wherfore mightely he hath these three yeres, kept warre continually bothe on lande and sea, and invaded Fraunce with two armies royall, and bet their tounes, castles, and fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of Somme, and proffered battaill to the Frenchmen, in their awne countrey, and hath brought the countrey, in such penury and wretchednes, that in many yeres it wyll not be recovered.

And the more to hurt and damage the Frenche kyng, the kyng hath in wages the Duke of Burbon, whiche was the greatest strengthe on the Frenche part: by whose power and aide of other, which had great sommes of money, of the kyng our Master, the Frenche kyng in persone is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, before Pavia, and kept as prisoner to the Emperor and the kyng our Master, and that for great reason: for our Master sent sir Gregory de Cassado his Ambassador, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of

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of Burbon, and the Marques of Piscaire, with a hundred thousand Crounes, so that thei would fight with the Frenche kyng: For the which money they assented, and so gave battaill, in the which they slewe xii. thousand men, and drouned vii. thousande, and xiii. thousande taken prisoners, and now sithe God hath geven us victory, the kyng remembryng the saiyng of the Poet that saieth: It is more mastery to use victorie gotten, then to get, thynketh it necessarie now in all hast, to make an armie royall, and be in person to passe the seas, and to recover his right inheritance, bothe of the Croune of Fraunce as of Normandie, Guyen, Gascone, Aniowe and Mayne, the writynges whereof comprehendyng the very title, you maie se here present yf ye list, but I doubt not but you knowe them wel inough. And now I aske you this question, whether that you thynke it convenient, that the kyng should passe with an armie or not, for the kyng will do by thavise of his subjectes: to the whych many sayed yea, yea.

The Cardinals demaund.

Wel saied the Cardinal, then must he be made able to go like a prince, which cannot without your aides, and for to shewe you what the Archebishoppe of Cantorbury and I, which bee primates of the realme have doen, we have geven of our landes, and al landes apperteignyng to the churche the third parte, and the temporall lordes, have geven of landes and goodes, the sixt parte, and to jeopard their bodies in pain and travaill, and now sithe they which shall aventure their lifes, doth profer the sixt part, what should thei geve which abide at home? For soth I thinke that halfe your substaunce were to litle, not meanyng that the kyng so asketh. For he demaundeth onely no more, of fiftie ł. the sixt part, and so upon every ł. above fiftie ł. to what some soever it amounte to, the sixt part that is iii.s. iiii.d. of the ł. and from xx.ł. to fiftie pounde, and so upward ii.s. and viii.d. of the pounde, and from xx. pounde to xx.s. xii.d. of the pounde, and this to be levied accordyng to the first valuacion, as appereth by your awne valuacion, whiche is but a small matter, to the thing that is meant. Then they beyng astonied, at last the one said, my lord sithe the last valuacion, diverse Merchantes be decaied, by the seas, and suertiship, and other waies, so that valuacion cannot bee had. Then answered the Cardinal, sers, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for some shall not

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not paie the tenth parte, and some more, it wer better that some should suffre indigence, then the kyng at this tyme should lacke, and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffill not in this case, for it maie fortune to cost some their heddes. But I will speke to the kyng, to bee good to you, so that yf he go not over the sea in persone, then you shall have your money redelivered, but firste let the money bee gathered, and laie it where you wyll, and yf the kyng nede it not, you maie take it agayn.

The Cardinalles threatenynges.

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior, and hys brethren and other hedde Cominers, they toke their leave, and every day after by the space of fortenight, he sent for a certain nomber of Comyners, and tolde theim like tale, but some spake suche woordes to him, and some goyng from hym, that they were sent to ward.

The saiyng of the clergie.

Now were Commissioners sent to the clergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moveables, and in every assembly the priestes answered, that thei would pay nothyng, except it wer graunted by Convocacion, other wise not: for thei saied that never kyng of England, did aske any mannes goodes, but by an ordre of the lawe, and this Commission is not by the ordre of the lawe: wherfore they saied, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof, were enemies to the kyng, and to the common wealthe. This infamie was spoken in preachynges, and every where.

The grudge of the common people.

When this matter was opened through Englande, howe the great men toke it it was marvel, the poore curssed, the riche repugned, the light wittes railed, but in conclusion, all people curssed the Cardinal, and his coadherentes as subversor of the Lawes and lybertye of Englande. For thei saied, yf men should geve their goodes by a Commission, then wer it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened at Redyng in Barkeshire, that the Commissioners satte for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt parte: but of their awne mere mynde, for the love they bare too the kyng, they graunted the twelveth parte, that is xx.d. of the pounde, the commissioners hearing this, saied they would sende to the Cardinal, desiryng hym to be content with this offre, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that sir Richard Weston would beare it, the whiche letter at the request

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request of the gentelmen of the countrey, the said sir Richard toke upon him to cary, and roade to the Cardinall: whiche therewith was sore greved and said, but because that the lorde Lisle wrote, that the matter was but communed of, and not concluded, it should cost the lorde Lisle his hedde and his landes should be sould to paie the kyng the values, that by hym and you folyshe commissioners he had lost, and all your lives at the kynges will: these wordes sore astonied sir Richard Weston, but he said litle.

Then the Cardinall wrote letters, to all commissioners of the Realme that they should kepe their first instruccion, and in no wise to swarve one jote, upon paine of their lives, and every man to be valued, according to the valuacion taken in the xiiii. yere. This laste poynte sore touched the citie of London, for the Cardinall in the xiiii. yere, sent one Doctor Tunes his secret Chapelein, to the Chapter house of Paules, promysyng to the Londoners, that whatsoever they valued themselfes at, that no man should knowe it, but the kyng, the Cardinall, and he, upon whiche promesse, many persones for their more credite, and to be the higher estemed valued theimselfes at a greater substaunce then they were worthe: thynkyng never to lende or paie by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were paied, accordyng as men were sessed, and not by Master Tunes boke, when men valued themselfes, not knowing what should succede.

Now in this tyme was that subtile valuacion, laied to their charge, which when they perceived, they murmured muche and said, they would paie nothyng, except the kynges lawes, under whiche they were borne, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, commissioners went out to every shire, for the levie of the saied money, but for al that could be perswaded, saied, lied, and flattered, the demaunde could not bee assented to, saiyng, that they that sent furthe suche Commissioners, were subverters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as traitours. So that in all the realme were billes set up, in all places: Some billes said, that the kyng had not paied that he borowed: Some saied that the Subsedy amounted treble, more then he had bestowed: Other saied whatsoever was graunted, no good came of it: And other saied that the Cardinall, sent al the money to Rome, thus was the mutteryng through all the realme, with curses and wepynges, that pitie it was to beholde.

The muttering of the people.

Duryng

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Duryng this season that the Commissioners sat, and that the byshop of London, and other the kynges Ambassadours, were abidyng wynd to saile into Spaine to the Emperor (as you have hard rehersed) Monsire Pratt, the Emperours Ambassadour, whiche was sore angrie for Jhon Jokyns commyng into Englande, as you have heard before, departed prively out of the Realme of Englande, the nyne daie of Aprill, without speakyng with the kyng, or the Cardinall, and so muche did by saveconduitie, that he passed through Fraunce in poste, and came to the Emperour, before the Ambassadours of Englande came thether, and whether it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed favour that the Emperour and his counsail shewed to the Englishemen, began then to decaie, and to shewe theimselfes unkynde to the English nacion, without cause, as you shall here after perceive.

The jeoperdy the kyng was in.

In this yere the kyng folowyng of his hauke, lept over a diche beside Hychyn, with a polle and the polle brake, so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, and lift up his hed, whiche was fast in the clay, he had bene drouned : but God of his goodnes preserved him.

This yere at Whitsontyde, died Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and was honourably buried at Thetford in Suffolke.

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The xvii. yer.

IN the beginnyng of this xvii. yere, the Commissioners in all shires sate, for the levie of the sixt parte of every mannes goodes, but the burden was so grevous, that it was denied and the commons in every place were so moved, that it was like to have growen to a rebellion. When this mischief was shewed to the kyng, he saied that he never knewe of that demaunde, and therefore with greate diligence, he sent his letters to the citie of London, and to al other places, in the which the kyng gently wrote, that he would demaunde no some certain, but suche as his lovyng subjectes would graunte to hym of their good myndes, toward the maintenaunce of his warres: wherfore the Cardinall, the twentie and six daie of Aprill, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsaill of the same, with

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with the moste substanciall persones, of the common counsaill, and when they were come to his place at Westminster, he saied: the kyng our sovereigne lorde, moste graciously considereth the greate love, zeale, and obedience, whiche you beare unto hym, and where like loving subjectes, without any grudge or agaynsaie, of your lovyng myndes you have graunted the sixt parte, of all your goodes and substaunce, frely to bee paied, accordyng to the firste valuacion, the whiche lovyng graunte and good mynde, he so kyndly accepted, that it was marvell to se. But I my self do consider the great losses, and other charges that daily hath, and doth to you growe, and that notwithstanding, any losse or charge that happeneth to you, yet you never withstode nor againsaied, any of the kynges demaundes or Commissions, as it appereth now of late, of whiche dooynges, I have highly the king enformed, for the which he gave you hartie thankes. Then I kneled doune to his grace, shewyng hym both your good myndes to warde hym, and also the charges, that you continually sustein, the whiche at my desire and peticion, was content to call in, and abrogate the same commission, and where he by reason of your awne grauntes, might have demaunded the saied somme as a verie debte, yet he is content to release and pardon the same, and wil nothyng take of you, but of your benevolence: wherfore take here with you the kynges letter, and let it be redde to the commons, and I doubte not but you will gladly do, as lovyng subjectes should do.

The saiyng of the Cardinal to the Londoners.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not said, that the kyng had released and pardoned the first demaunde, the citezens would have answered the Cardinal, that they never made no suche graunt, and for a suretie no more they did not: and so they helde their peace, and departed toward London, sore grudgyng at the liyng of the Cardinal, and openly saiyng that he was the very cause, and occasion of this demaunde, and would plucke the peoples hartes from the kyng.

The common counsaill.

The xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the common counsaill of the cytie, was redde the kynges letter, according to the effect above rehersed, wherfore the citezens sent foure Aldermen, and xii. Cominers to Hampton courte to geve thankes to the lorde Cardinall, whiche for busines as was saied could not speake with hym, wherfore they returned not content. Then

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Then every Alderman assembled his ward, in their places accustomed, and gently moved them of a benevolence, to be graunted to the kyng, the which they openly denied, saiyng, that they had paied inough before, with many evill wordes.

The viii. daie of Maie, the Cardinall agayn sent for the Maior and his brethren, whiche shewed them what they had done: then saied the Cardinall, you have no suche commission to examyne any man. I am youre Commissioner, I will examyne you one by one my selfe, and then I shall knowe the good will that you beare to your prince, for I will aske of you a benevolence in his name. Then was it answered to the Cardinall, by a counsailer of the citie, that by the lawe there might no suche benevolence be asked, nor men so examined, for it was contrary to the statute made in the first yere of kyng Rychard the thirde, also some persones commyng before your grace, maie for feare graunte that, that all daies of their lyfe they shall repent, and some to wynne your favour, wil graunt more then they bee able to paie of their awne, and so ronne in other mennes debtes, so that by dredfull gladnes, and fearefull boldnes, men shall not be masters of themselfes, but as menne dismaied, shall graunte that that their wifes and children shall sore rewe. The Cardinall hard this saiyng very paciently, and answered: Sir I marvell that you speake of Rychard the third, whiche was a usurper and a murtherer of his awne nephewes: then of so evill a man, how can the actes be good, make no suche allegacions, his actes be not honorable. And it please your grace said the counsailer, although he did evill, yet in his tyme were many good actes made not by hym onely, but by the consent of the body of the whole Realme, whiche is the parliament. Then sir Willyam Bayly lorde Maior, kneled doune and besought his grace, that sithe it was enacted, by the common Counsaill of London, that every Alderman should sit in his awne ward, for a benevolence to be graunted, which he perceived to be against the lawe, that the same acte by the same common counsall, might be revoked and no otherwise: well saied the Cardinall, I am content. But now will I entre into the kynges Commission: You Maior, and you Master Aldermen, what will you geve? my lorde saied the Maior, I praie you pardon me, for if I should entre into any graunt, it might fortune

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fortune to cost me my life: your life saied the Cardinall, that is a marvelous worde, for your will toward the kyng, will the citezens put you in jeoperdy of your life, that were straunge: For if they would that waie, then must the kyng come with strong power them to oppresse, wherfore speake no more such wordes, and with that he studied a litle and saied: My lorde Mayor, let you and your citezens, if you be greved with any thyng, in this demaunde, humbly and after a good fashion come to me, and I shall so entreate you that you shalbe content, and no displeasure aryse, and so I praie you shew your neighbours, and so the Maior for that daie departed.

The flatteryng of the Cardinall.

The Maior did wysely not to assent to graunt to any thyng, for although he and the Aldermen had assented, the common counsaill would never have assented. So on the next morowe, it was declared to the common counsaill, that their act that was made that every Alderman should sit for a benevolence to be graunted, was against a statute lawe: whereupon the said act was anulled: and then was it declared, that every man should come to the Cardinal, and to graunt privily what he would, with this saiyng the citezens wer sore greved, then the Maior gently shewed them, how he durst warrant, that they should bee entreated gently, and exhorted theim to go thether when they were sent for, whiche saiyng nothyng pleased theim: and then in a furie they would have had Rycharde Gresham, and Jhon Hewster Mercers, and Richarde Gibson Serjant at armes and Merchant Tailor, banished out of the common counsaill, and so without answere made, what they would do, they departed home.

In the same season through all the realme, this demaunde was utterly denied, so that the Commissioners could bryng nothyng to passe, and yet they assaied bothe by faire waies and foule: some spake faire and flatered, other spake cruell and threatened, and yet could not bryng theyr purpose aboute. For in Kent the lorde Cobham was commissioner, and handled men roughly, and by reason one Jhon Skudder answered hym clubbishly, he sent hym to the Towre of London: For whiche doyng the people muttered, and grudged against the lorde Cobham, and saied expresly, that they would paie no money, and then they began to accompt the loanes and subsidies graunted, so that thei rekened the kynges

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kynges Tresure innumerable, for they accompted that the kyng had taken of this realme, twentie fiftenes, sithe the xiiii. yere of his reigne, and in this grudge, they evill entreated sir Thomas Bullein at Maidestone.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntyngdon shire, diverse resisted the commissioners to sit, whiche were apprehended, and sent to the Flete.

Insurreccion in Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke, sat in Suffolke this season in lyke commission, and by gentle handlyng, he caused the riche Clothiers to assent, and graunt to geve the sixt parte, and when they came home to their houses, they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Wevers, and other artificers, whiche were wont to be set a woorke and have their livynges by clothe makyng, and saied, sirs we be not able to set you a woorke, our goodes be taken from us, wherefore trust to your selfes, and not to us, for other wise it wil not be. Then began women to wepe, and young folkes to crie, and men that had no woorke, began to rage, and assemble theimselfes in compaignies. The Duke of Suffolke hearyng of this, commaunded the Constables, that every mannes harnes, should be taken from them, but when that was knowen, then the rumor waxed more greater, and the people railed openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and syr Robert Durie, and threatened them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanam, Sudbery, Hadley, and other Townes aboute, there rebelled foure thousande men, and put theimselfes in harnes, and rang the belles *Alarme*, and began togather still more: then the duke of Suffolke perceivyng this, began to raise men, but he could get but a small nombre, and they that came to hym saied, that they would defende hym from all perilles, if he hurte not their neighbours, but against their neyghbours they would not fight: Yet the Gentelmen that were with the duke did so muche, that all the bridges were broken, so that their assemble was some what letted.

The duke of Norffolke, high Threasorer and Admirall of Englande hearyng of this, gathered a greate power in Norffolke, and came towarde the commons, and of his noblenes he sent to the commons, to knowe their intent, whiche answered: that they would live and die in the kynges causes, and to the kyng to be obedient: When the duke

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duke wist that, he came to them, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they meant. Then he asked who was their Capitain, and bad that he should speake: then a well aged manne of fiftie yeres and above, asked licence of the Duke to speake, which graunted with good will. My lorde saied this man, whose name was Jhon Grene, sythe you aske who is our capitain, for soth hys name is Povertie, for he and his cosyn Necessitie, hath brought us too this doyng, for all these persones and many mo, whiche I would were not here, lyve not of our selfes, but all we lyve, by the substanciall occupiers of this countrey, and yet they geve us so litle wages, for our workmanship, that scacely we be able to live, and thus in penurie we passe the tyme, we, our wifes and children, and if they by whom we live, be brought in that case, that they of their litle, cannot helpe us to earne our livyng, then must we perishe, and die myserably. I speke this my lorde, the cloth makers have put all these people, and a farre greater nomber from worke the husbande men have put away their servauntes, and geven up houshold, they say, the kyng asketh so much, that thei be not able to do as thei have done before this tyme, and then of necessitie, must we dye wretchedly: wherfore my lorde, now accordyng to your wisedom, consider our necessitie. The Duke was sory to heare their complaint, and well he knewe that it was true: then he saied, neighbours, sever your selfes a sonder, let every man departe to his home, and chose furthe foure, that shall answer for the remnant, and on my honor I wil sende to the kyng, and make humble intercession for your pardon, whiche I trust to obtein, so that you wil depart, then all they aunswered they would, and so they departed home.

At the twoo dukes requestes, commissioners of great aucthoritie were sent to theim, then the Duke of Norffolke, and the Duke of Suffolke came to Bery, and thether came many people of the countrey, in their shirtes, and halters about their neckes, mekely desiryng pardon for their offences: the Dukes so wysely handeled themselfes, that the commons were appeised, and in especiall one Master Jermyn, toke muche pain in ridyng and goyng, betwene the lordes and commons: then the demaunde of money seased in all the realme, for well it was perceived, that the commons would none paie.

After

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After this, the twoo dukes came to London, and brought with theim the chief capitaines of the rebellion, which were put in the Flete, and then the kyng came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: Wherupon this matter, he assembled a great counsaill, and openly he said, that his mind was never, to aske any thyng of his commons, whiche might sounde too his dishonour, or to the breche of his lawes, wherfore he would know of whom it was long, that the commissions were so straight, to demaunde the syxt parte of every mannes substaunce: The Cardinall excused hymself and said, that when it was moved in counsaill, how to make the kyng ryche, the Kynges Counsaill, and especially the Judges saied, he might lawfully demaunde any some by Commission, and that by the assent of the whole Counsaill it was done, and toke God to witnes, that he never maligned nor desired, the hynderaunce of the commons, but lyke a true counsailer, devised to enriche the kyng: And the spirituall men saie, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Joseph caused the kyng of Egypte, to take the fift parte of every mannes goodes, but because every manne laieth the burden from hym, I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noyes of the people, for my good will toward the kyng, and comfort of you my lordes, and other the kinges counsailers, but the eternall God knoweth all. Well said the kyng, some have enformed me that my realme was never so riche, and that there should never trouble have risen of that demaunde, and that men would paie at the first request, but now I fynde all contrary, then every man helde his peace.

The sore wordes of the kyng.

The excuse of the Cardinal.

The Kyng sore moved.

The kyng was sore moved, that his subjectes were thus stirred, and also he was enformed of the deniall, that the spirituall men had made, and of their saiynges, wherefore he thought it touched hys honoure, that his counsaill should attempt, suche a doubtful matter in his name, and to bee denied bothe of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, for although some graunted for feare, before the commissioners, yet when they wer departed, they denied it again. Then the kyng saied I will no more of this trouble: Let letters bee sent to all shyres, that this matter maie no more bee spoken of, I will pardon all theim, that have denied the demaunde, openly or secretly: Then all the Lordes kneled doune, and hartely thanked the kyng. Then letters were sent to all commissioners

commissioners to cease, with instruccions how to declare the kynges pardon. In whiche declaracion, was shewed, that the Cardinal never assented, to the first demaunde, and in the instruccions was comprehended, that the lordes and the Judges, and other of the kynges counsaill, divised the same demaunde, and that the Cardinall folowed the mynd of the whole counsaill, these two poyntes were contrary one to another, whiche were well marked. And farther the instruccions were, that at the humble peticion, and supplicacion of the Cardinall, the saied greate sommes, whiche were demaunded, by the kynges aucthoritie royall, were clerely pardoned and remitted, wherfore the Commissioners willed the people to praie for the Cardinal: but the people toke all this for a mocke, and saied God save the kyng, for the Cardinal is knowen wel inough, the commons would heare no prayse spoken of the Cardinall, they hated hym so muche.

The Pardon of the greate demaunde.

The xix. daie of Maie, the Cardinall sent for the Maior and his brethren, and certain comminers, and made the Maior to sit doune by hym, and then declared, that where the kyng was determined, in proper person to passe the sea into Fraunce, for whiche cause he asked of the Cytezens of London, and his other subjectes, an aide toward his charges, to whiche request (he saied) that the Londoners were at al tymes conformable, lyke loving subjectes, but sythe the kyng consydereth, the greate fall of the Frenche Kyng, whiche is yet prysoner, and that dayly he hath suite made to hym for peace, greatly to his honor and profite, for I trust that all his ryght and title, shalbe to hym delivered, which thyng once agreed I truste you shall have peace, and therefore at my humble request, the kyng hath pardoned you, of all the sommes of money, that of you were demaunded: and if his grace had not passed the seas, although the money had bene gathered, surely it should have bene restored again, and consequently the kyng thanketh you as hartely, as any prynce may thanke his subjectes: and for asmuche as peace, is not yet concluded, I counsaill you to shewe your selfes, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to say that you be the kynges, bodie and goodes at his will and pleasure, so that youre lovyng myndes towardes hym, maie to the Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane saied the Cardinall. Then the Maior and

The saiyng to the Maior of London.

The preatie feate of the Cardinall.

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and his compaignie kneled doune, and most hartely thanked the kyng and hym and so departed. The next daie, all this was rehersed to the common counsaill, whiche humbly thanked the kyng for the pardon: but two thynges them sore displeased, one was that the Cardinall bad theim saie, they were the kynges body and goodes, they saied that they used no dissimulacion, for they would not saie they were the kynges, but they thought and were the kynges in deede, and not in saiyng: the seconde was, that the Cardinall excused hymself, that he was ignorant of the first commission: for al they knew and were present, when he himself made to them the first mocion, and whatsoever was saied by the recorder, in his excuse, was taken as a cloke for the rain, and a dissimulacion or a mocke. For wisemen perceived all the handelyng of the matter: after the kyng had pardoned every offendour.

The xxix. daie of Maie the lordes sat in the Starre chamber, and thether were brought one Devereux, a gentelman of Huntingdon shire (whiche would not suffre the commissioners to sit, as you have hard) and Jhon Scudder of Kent, these twoo were brought from the towre, bare foote in their shirtes through London, to the Starre chamber, and there the Cardinall shewed them their offences, with terrible woordes: and after that he shewed the kynges mercie, extended to them and declared their pardon, and so they were delivered.

The morowe after beyng the xxx. daie, were the chief of the rebelles of Suffolke, brought to the Starre chamber barre, and there the Kynges counsaill learned, laied sore to theim their offence, but the Cardinall declared for them the kynges pardon: then the kynges Attorney, asked suertie for their good aberyng, they answered that they could finde none, then saied the Cardinall I will be one, because you be my countrey men, and my lorde of Norffolke will be another, and so they were discharged, and had money to bryng them home: Now here is an ende of this commission, but not an ende of inward grudge and hatered, that the commons bare to the Cardinall, and to all gentelmen, whiche vehemently set furth that commission and demaunde.

In this troubelous season, the uplandishemen of Germany, called the bowres, rose in a greate nomber, almoste an hundred thousande, and rebelled against the princes of Germany,

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Germany, of whiche a great nomber were slain and destroied.

In Aprill last past, the Tyndale men, with the aide of the Scottes, to the nomber of eight hundred, did daily greate roberies in Englande. For to represse this nest of theves were sent, sir Rychard Bulmer, and sir Cristopher Dacres, with a greate compaignie of Englishemen, and to them diverse men came, and submitted themselfes, but the great theves kept them in the mountaignes of Cheviot, and daily skirmished with thenglishemen, and could not sone be taken: but after long liyng abrode, they severed and many of them were taken.

In this very season the Frenchemen, kept a greate nomber of men of warre, at Bullein and there aboute, and the v. daie of Maie foure hundred horsemen, embushed theimselfes in the Forest of Guysnes, and the same daie lxxx. horsemen of the Crewe of Guysnes, roade furthe sekyng aventures, the Frenchemen let theim passe, till they had theim at avauntage then they issued out and cried, kill, kill, then Englishemen them valiauntly defended, almoste twoo houres, but at the last the Frenchemen, oppressed theim with multitude, and brake their arraye, and slewe fiftie of them, the remnant saved themselfes: this chaunce was nothyng pleasant to the Englishe capitaines. But the Frenchemen were so surmounted by this journey, that the xx. daie of Maie, the men of warre of all the garrisons in Picardy, assembled together, and came within the English pale to Aunderne, and so to Calice: the Frenchmen were of suche nombre that all the Englishe pale was spred over: At Balyngham the Frenche men drave awaie the catell: the Englishmen thought themselfes to weke to encounter with them, whiche were the whole strengthe of all Picardy. And so on the Assension daie, there came to Newnam bridge, three hundred horsemen, and there set a stale, but with ordinaunce they were made to go backe. Then came foure hundred Frenchemen to the Turne pike, and they had gotten all the cattell together. The bend of sir Robert Jernyngham, seyng the Frenchemen so nere Calice, set forward not past lx. horsemen, and they fiersly set on the Frenchemen, whiche fledde, and they chased them, and reskued all the catell, that the Frenchemen had taken, and with greate difficultie, brought them to the Marshe beside Calice.

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The xxviii. daie of Maie v. C. horsemen, and xvi. C. footemen, came to a village called Froyton, within the Englishe pale, and many aventured over the Water to have taken all the cattell in the Marryshes, of Hamnes, Guysnes, and Calice, whiche were of greate nomber, but the Frenchemen that made the aventure in the night, were askried and slain all save two. Then the Frenchemen returned in a great furie, and sware that they would once robbe the Marrisses or els they would dye for it, and so returned to Bullein, whether were come of newe, five C. horsmen called Stradiats, whiche fortified well the Frenche parties, in so muche that they passed in nomber five tymes the Englishemen.

Riot at Beggam.

You have hard before, how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the whiche one was called Beggam in Sussex, the whiche was verie commodious to the countrey: but so befell the case, that a riotus compaignie, disguised and unknowen, with painted faces and visures, came to the same Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their place again, and promised theim that whensoever they rang the bell, that they would come with a great power, and defende them. This doyng came to the eare of the kynges counsaill, whiche caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the capitaines, whiche were emprisoned and sore punyshed.

The Cardinall aboute this season, by his power Legantyne, sent a Chappelein of his, called Doctor Jhon Allein, a man of more learnyng then vertue, or good conscience, to visite all places religious: this priest roade in his goune of velvet, with a greate trayne, and was received into every Religion with Procession, as though the legate had bene there, and toke suche greate sommes for his visitacion, that the religious sore were greved, and murmured muche against it, and in especiall, for they were charged with greate sommes of money to the kyng, and now thys sodayn visitacion or ‡predacion, cleane shaved them. The common people spake muche against this, and also they saied, that the Cardinall by Visitacions, makyng of Abbottes, probates of testamentes, grauntyng of faculties, licenses, and other pollynges in his courtes legantines, had made his threasore egall with the kynges, and yet every yere he sent greate sommes to Rome: this was their communicacion, ever against the Cardinall,

Predacion, that is a robbery.

Cardinall, and his high aucthoritie, and the spirituall men moste disdained it.

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You shall understande, the kyng in his freshe youth, was in the cheynes of love, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to sir Jhon Blunt knyght, whiche damosell in syngyng, daunsyng, and in all goodly pastymes, exceded all other, by the whiche goodly pastymes, she wan the kynges harte: and she again shewed hym suche favour, that by hym she bare a goodly manne childe, of beautie like to the father and mother. This child was wel brought up, like a Princes child, and when he was vi. yere of age, the kyng made hym knight, and called hym lorde Henry fitz Roy, and on Sondaie beyng the xviii. daie of June, at the manor or place of Bridewell, the saied Lorde ledde by twoo Erles, was created Erle of Nothyngham, and then he was brought backe again by the saied twoo Erles: then the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, led hym into the great chamber again, and the kyng created hym, Duke of Richemond and Somerset: and the same daie was the lorde Henry Courtenay Erle of Devonshire, and cosyn germayn to the kyng, was created Marques of Excester, and the lorde Henry Brandon, sonne to the Duke of Suffolke and the Frenche Quene the kynges sister, a childe of twoo yere old, was created Erle of Lincolne, and sir Thomas Manners lorde Roos, was created Erle of Rutlande, and sir Henry Clifford, was created Erle of Cumberlande, and the lorde Fitz Water sir Robert Radclif was created Viscount Fitz Water, and sir Thomas Bullein, treasorer of the kynges houshold, was created Viscount Rocheforde, and at those creacions, were kept greate feastes and disguisynges.

The creacion of the duke of Rychemond.

After this the Cardinall toke upon hym, as the kynges chief counsailer, to se a reformacion in the ordre of the kynges housholde, wherin he made certayn ordinaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the Duke of Richemond, whiche was then newly begon: Also at that tyme he ordeined a counsail, and stablished an other household, for the ladie Mary, then beyng Prynces of the realme, so that all thyng that was done, was done by hym, and without his assent, nothyng was done: He toke so muche upon hym, and made the kyng beleve, that all thynges should be to his honor, and that he neded not to take

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take any pain, so that to hym was the charge of all thynges committed, at the whiche wisemenne becked, and light men laughed, thynkyng great foly in his high presumpcion. And at this tyme, the saied Cardinall gave to the kyng, the lease of the Manor of Hampton Court, whiche he had of the lease of the lorde of Sainct Jhones, and on whiche he had done greate coste. Therefore the kyng of his gentle nature, licensed hym to lie in his Manor of Richmond at his pleasure, and so he laie there at certain tymes: but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had bene kyng Henry the seventhes servauntes, sawe the Cardinall kepe house in the Manor royal of Richmond, which kyng Henry the seventh, so hyghly estemed it, was a marvel to here, how they grudged and said, se a Bochers dogge lye in the manor of Richemond: These with many approbrious wordes, were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high that he nothing regarded, and yet was he hated of moste men.

In this season the Frenche kynges mother, Regent of Fraunce, and the thre estates of the realme, assembled together, concernyng the estate of their realme: First, they sent a solempne Ambassador to themperour, with articles (as they thought reasonable) for the deliveraunce of the French king and also for a peace, they sent also a messenger to the kyng of Englande, for a saveconduite for an Ambassadour, to be sent into Englande, for a treatie of peace, whiche to the messenger, was graunted and delivered.

Then came over as Ambassadour from Fraunce, Jhon Jokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche as you have hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Master Larkes house, and when he came into Englande, he was welcomed of the Cardinall, and there betwene theim were suche communicacions, that at the sute of the saied Jhon Jokyn, a truce was concluded, from the xiii. daie of July for fortie daies, betwene England and Fraunce, bothe in the sea and beyonde the sea. Full well wist Jhon Jokyn, what he meant, when he desired peace for fortie daies, for in that season the Pikardes, might have a quiet harvest, to cary in their Corne, whiche they should not have, if the garrisons of Calice and guysnes: and other within the Englishe pale, had not bene restreined from warre, and also the Fishermen of Depe, Bullein, and Traiport, had quiete fishyng, by this truce,

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truce, for the navie of England, was come home to harborough, this truce greved the men of warre on both parties, it was so sodain that they wist not well what to do.

When the Flemynges hard tell of truce, and that they were not comprehended in the same, they began to rayle and said, that the kyng of Englande, had not done truly with them, to take a truce without their knowlege: the Englishemen answered, that they had no Ambassadour in England, and if that they had had any, they should have bene made privie, but the kyng would sende theim no worde of his affaires, if they would not sende to knowe, for he ought their master, nor yet them suche service.

The Frenchemen in this season, enterprised to enter into Flaunders, by Newe dike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynges, and because the Frenchemen passed by the Englyshe pale, and had nothyng done to them, the Flemynges were sore displeased, with the Englishmen of Calice.

In the latter ende of July came into Englande, Monsire Bryond chief President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinalles presence, at the Manor of Richemond, and when his Commission was shewed, it was doubted whether the aucthoritie wer sufficient, because the kyng his Master was prisoner in Spain: but then he shewed aucthoritie, geven to the Lady Regent, and certain nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the Frenche kyng in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all thynges that did or myght concerne his Realme, duryng his absence. When the commission was thought reasonable, then was rehersed to the Frenchemen their doublenes, their unstedfastnes, and how they had behaved theimselfes toward the kyng of England: then they aunswered if we have offended, you have us punished, for you have brent our tounes, slayn our people, destroyed our countrey, so that you have brought the lowe parties, to a long miserie without recovery, and therfore sithe we be the lesers for our offence, yet we sue for peace, least we be more punished. After long consultacion, they offered many offers: firste, to pay all suche somes of money as were due, both for the yerely tribute, and also for the citie of Tournay, and the Frenche Quenes

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Quenes dowar, and farther to recompence the kyng of Englande his expences done in the warres.

Duryng this treatie, woorde was brought to the kyng of Englande, that there was a truce sodainly concluded, betwene the realme of Fraunce and the ladie Margaret, Duches of Savoy, and Governour of Flaunders and the lowe countreis, for the space of v. monethes, so that no entercourse should be betwene them for marchantes, but by saveconduite, and that this Proclamacion was proclaimed at sainct Omers, the firste daie of August, wherupon the kyng was contented, that a peace should bee taken from the xiiii. daie of August, to the firste daie of December, whiche was proclaimed in London: and by this truce every Englishman without savecondute, might passe into Fraunce, and thei likewise into Englande. When this truce was proclaimed, the people murmured and said, now hath the Frenchemen gotten their fishyng quietly, and if they had bene kept from that, they had bene undone, and so with faire wordes thei helpe themselfes, whiche if we have warre again, shall hurte us, for this Herryng shall vitaill their tounes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpose.

Ambassadors into Denmark.

This yere the kyng sent Doctor Henry Standishe, Byshop of sainct Asse, and sir Jhon Baker knight into the realme of Denmarke, to comen and entreate with the nobles of the Countrey for the reduccion of kyng Cristierne, to his realme, Croune, and dignitie, but all that could be said or perswaded, could not bryng the Danes to any reson, they hated hym so for his greate crueltie, and in especiall for the greate tiranny that he committed at Stokeholme in Swethen, where he desired a greate nomber of his nobles to a banket, and after the banket, strake of their heddes. When the Ambassadours of Englande sawe that they could not bryng hym in agayn: they then began to require, that his sonne might have the croune and dominion, whiche never them offended, and was of progeny borne of lady Isabell, sister to the Emperour Charles the V. which also made great labour and instaunce for the same: but the Danes answered they would none of his procreacion, for they said, the sonne would folow the father, or els at the least he would revenge his fathers wrong, and so with this aunswere they departed.

So muche did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, bothe by offers

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offers and entreatyes, that the king of England and his counsail, did condiscende to a peace, and the more soner because thei sawe yf warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the commons, whiche had lever rebell then pay any more money, as you have hard in the last yere. When peace was concluded, then were Proclamacions of the same, sent to every citee and good toune, and the viii. daye of September, thys peace was proclaymed solemply with a Trompet through the citee of London, the effecte wherof was, that upon humble suite and large profers, made by the lady Regent of Fraunce, and the three estates of the same, a peace, league, and amitie was concluded, betwene bothe the kynges of England and Fraunce, and their countreys and subjectes, so that the subjectes of either realme maie lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to bye and sell frankely and frely, without let or interrupcion, and that this league in no wyse, was a breche of the league taken with the Emperor and the lady Margaret, governesse of Flaunders in no point, but that the saied Emperour and lady Margaret, and all other the kynges old and auncient confederates and alies, wer comprehended in the same, and for due restitucion to be made to the Frenchmen, there was appoyncted the reverende father, Cutberd bishop of London, and for restitucion to be made to the Englishmen, was appoynted the chief President of Roan.

And on the xi. daie of September, was a truce proclamed in Spain, in the toune of Vale Dolito, betwene themperor and the Frenche kyng, from that daie to the ende of December next ensuyng, at which time the Emperor had not seen the Frenche kyng, whiche was conveighed by sea out of Italy into Spain, to a Castle called Madrill, and there remaygned: and shortly after fell sore sicke, and was in greate jeoperdy, for the whiche the Frenchmen cared litle, for thei saied that if he died, thei should paye no raunsome, and then their realme shoulde be quiet.

This peace betwene England and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Flemynges, wherefore when they had dronke well, thei spake largely, and bosted how they had victailed the English armies, and found them cartes and cariages, and thought it not kyndly doen, to refuse them as old frendes and make peace wyth old enemies, but they did not considre what money

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money the Englishemen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dred of the Englishemen, would not invade Flaunders, so that thei lyved quietly, all this they considered not.

In the same moneth this peace was proclamed, in Paris, Lions, Roan and Amias: by this peace the kyng of Englande, should receive at certain daies xx. hundred thousande Crounes, whiche then was foure hundred thousand pound sterlyng, of the whiche one paiment of fiftie thousande pounde was paied in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were aboute the retinue of Calice, Hammes, and Guysnes, wer called home, and the shippes brought into the havens, and many a Kreker wist not how to lyve.

In the moneth of October wer sent into Fraunce, sir Willyam FitzWillyam Threasorer of the kynges house, and docter Tayllor, as Ambassadors from the kyng of England, and wer received through Fraunce very honorably, and by long jorneis at the last, came to the citie of Lions the xxiiii. daie of November where to them wer presented, Wine Fishe, Fleshe, and Waxe, and thei wer visited with diverse noble men. And on the xxvi. daie they wer conveighed to the Courte by twoo Erles, and at the gate received with two Cardinalles, and so brought to the lady regent, whiche with muche honor them received, and then they delyvered the kynges letters, whiche she tooke in great reverence, and so with her counsail, departed into her privie chamber, and there taried almost two houres and then came out again, to whom Docter Tailor made an eloquent Oracion in Latin, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the kyng his Master for very love, and not for no dred nor nede did condiscend to peace. To whom the bishop of Besanson, Chaunceller to the Lady Regent made answere, and that doen, the Ambassadors were feasted, and served with men of greate estate, and after that thei wer conveighed to their lodgynges.

The league sworne.

And on Sondaie next ensuyng, the Ambassadors wer conveighed to the Courte, and from thence the lady Regent and all the Court, rode solemply to the Cathedrall churche of Lions, and there a Cardinall sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was dooen, the Lady Regent toke the twoo Ambassadors, the one on the right hande, and the other on the

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the left hande, and so went up to the high aultar, and there she layed her hande on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse boke, and there sware to observe, fulfill, and kepe, all the articles and agrementes, concluded in the league and treatie of peace, by her commissioners. And when this was doen, the bishop of Bisanson made an eloquent sermon, takyng for his antitheme. *Quis est homo qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos, Inquire pacem, &c.* In this sermon he muche praised the kyng of Englande, whiche assented to peace and lauded the Cardinall, whom he called the Legate of God, for counsailyng hym to peace: for now was Fraunce free, and all hostilitie seased, and when this sermon was doen, *Te deum* was song, and then the Trumpettes blewe, and all other instrumentes Musaicall, and then the Lady Regent, with all her trayne returned to the palace, and there were the Ambassadors highly feasted, and then sir Willyam Fitz William toke his leave, and came shortly into Englande, leavyng behynde hym Doctor Tayler, whiche taried there till the Frenche kyng was delivered.

When the articles of peace, wer knowen to themperor and his counsaill, full well wist they that the kyng of Englande now would be frend to the French kyng, wherefore he and his subjectes, shewed theimselfes more straunge and unkynde to the Englishemen, then they had been accustomed. In somuche that the Englishe merchauntes, put up a supplicacion to the Emperor, shewyng hym how their goodes were taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrained, newe imposicions taken of theim, and moste of all thei complained, that by an acte made in Spain called *Premetica* whiche ordeineth that every cloth, should bee of a certain nomber of thredes, the clothes of Englande there could not bee solde, to the great hynderaunce of the Englishe Marchauntes: For the clothiers of England, knowe not the nomber appoynted by the statute, and when thei make cloth, thei knowe not to what countrey that cloth shalbe sold, of these thynges the Englishe Marchauntes desired a redresse.

At a daie appoynted the Englishmen had an answere delivered them in writyng, conteignyng certain articles. The firste if any wronges bee dooen unto you, our Justice is open in every place. The second, as touchyng letters of Marke, we will be avysed by our counsaill. The third, as touchyng your shippes, we frely graunt that you shal have our

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our frendship liberally, so that with your awne shippes and goodes, you maie go at youre pleasure, passyng or makyng abode. And as touchyng customes, or Imposicions of newe: The accident maie cause us so to doo, but that shalbee in suspence. And finally as touchyng our *Premetica*, made by the lordes of our counsaill, and by us affirmed, wee will not breake, but wee will suffre to the intent that you Englishe Merchauntes, maie bring true and well made clothe, for the whiche you shal bee the better welcome: this was the very answere that the Englishe Marchauntes had, of the Emperor and his counsaill.

In this Wynter was greate death in London, wherefore the Terme was adjorned, and the king for to eschew the plague, kept his Christmas at Eltham with a small nomber, for no manne might come thether, but suche as wer appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas. But the Cardinall in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open housholde, to lordes, ladies, and all other that would come, with plaies and disguisyng in most royall maner: whiche sore greved the people, and in especiall the kynges servauntes, to se hym kepe an open Court, and the kyng a secret Court.

The Cardinal came to Eltham the viii. daie of January, and taried there till the xxii. daie. In whiche season the Cardinall, and other of the kynges counsaill, sat for a direccion to be taken in the kynges house, and first it was considered, that the greate nomber of the yomen of the gard were very chargeable, and that there were many officers farre striken in age whiche had servauntes in the Courte, and so the kyng was served with their servauntes, and not with his awne servauntes, whiche was thought not convenient. Wherfore first the officers servauntes, wer put out of the Courte, and many old officers were put to live in their countreys, but the kyng of his bountie enhaunsed their livynges, for he that had three pound wages, had sixe pound annuitie, without attendaunce, and he that had xl.s. had foure pound, and so every man after the rate, and young men were put in their romes. Then was there lxiiii. of the gard whiche had xii.d. the daie checked, put out of that wages, and they had vi.d. a daie unchecked, and should dwell in their countries and come not at the court, til thei wer sent for, except it wer for suites: in the which the Cardinall

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Cardinall promised them, to be their helper: Alas what sorowe, and what lamentacion was made, when al these persones should depart the court. Some saied that poore servauntes wer undoen and must steale: Some saied that thei wer found of the revercions of the officers service, so that for them was nothyng more set out at the dresser, and it was greate charitie to fynde them. Other saied that the yomen of the gard, whiche were put out, wer now not able to fynde themselfes and their horse, to doo the Kyng service. Other sayed, that now they would polle and pill in their countreys, and oppresse the poore people, thus every man had his saiyng.

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinances, concernyng the kynges house, whiche bee at this daye called the statutes of Eltham, the whiche some saied wer more profitable then honorable.

This monethe of January was a peace concluded, betwene the realmes of Englande and Scotlande, for three yeres and sixe monethes, of the whiche the Scottes wer very glad, and especially the borderers, for they wer sore hurt by this warre.

This yere the kyng on Shrovetewesdaie, kept a solempne Justes at his Manour of Grenewiche, he hymself and xi. wer on the one part, and the Marques of Excester with xi. were on the other parte: the Kynges barde and base and all his bende, wer of cloth of gold and silver, richely enbraudered, with a mannes harte in a presse, with flames about it, and in letters were written, *Declare Je nose*, in Englishe, Declare I dare not, the Marques and his bend wer in Grene Velvet, and crimosin sattin embrodered with hartes burnyng, and over every harte a Ladies hand commyng out of a cloude, holdyng a garden watter pot, which dropped silver droppes on the harte: At this Justes was many a spere broken, and by chaunce of shiveryng of the spere, sir Frances Brian lost one of his iyes. After these Justes, the king made to the Quene, and lordes and ladies a costly banket, and did service to the Quene and ladies hymself.

Sir Frances Brian lost one of his iyes.

In the monethe of February the xi. daye beyng Sondaie, the Cardinall with greate pompe came to the Cathedrall Churche of Paules, on whom Bishoppes, Abbottes, and a great nomber of doctors, gave their attendaunce, and there he

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The abjuracion of docter Barnes, of whom ye shal heare more in the xxxii. yere of this Kyng.

he sat in pontificalibus, under his cloth of estate of riche clothe of Golde: and there one Frier Barnes a Frier Augustyne bare a fagot, for certain poyntes of heresie, as the Bishoppes saied: and twoo Merchauntes of the Stilierd bare fogottes, for eatyng fleshe on a Fridaie, and ther the bishop of Rochester Doctor Fisher, made a sermon, reprovyng Martin Luthers opinion, a Frier of Germany, whiche wrote against the power of the Bishoppe of Rome, and in his sermon he spake so muche honor of the Pope and his Cardinalles, and of their dignitie and preheminence, that he forgat to speake any thing of the Gospell, whiche he toke in hand to declare, which sermon was muche praised of the Cardinall and bishoppes, wherfore the Cardinall gave to all the people his benediccion, and then departed.

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperor and his counsail, by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and al the realme there, for the deliveraunce of Fraunces the Frenche king, and after many communicacions whiche toke none effect, was sent into Spain of Ambassade, the noble lady Margaret, late duches of Alaunson, sister to the French kyng, with a greate compaignie of nobles and honorable personages. Themperor Charles met the saied lady in the Market place of the cite of Toleto, and her right hartely welcomed, and after that the Duches and her compaignie, had refused to agree to certain articles, whiche the Frenche kyng had offered hymself, the saied Duches had license of the Emperor, to go to Madrill, where the Frenche kyng was kepte as prisoner, and there to knowe his mynd. When she was there, she and other divised suche a waie that the Frenche kyng should have scaped, and poste horses wer laied every where: this was not so secrete, but the Emperor was thereof enformed, and toke certain Frenchemen, whiche confessed how all thynges should have been brought to passe. The Duches of Alaunson hearyng that this privitie was opened, on post horses with all spede returned into Fraunce, levyng the whole matter at large.

Lady Margaret Duches of Alaunson devysed wayes for the French king to escape.

But for all this the lordes of Fraunce, ceased not daily to sue, for the deliveraunce of their sovereigne lorde, and at last to the Emperor was delivered a boke for the Frenche kynges deliveraunce, for the Emperor saied he would nothyng demaund of hym, for havyng hym he had more then he could

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could geve hym. Then the Frenche kyng and his counsail, offered a boke conteignyng many articles to the Emperoure: and when the Emperor had well understande the contentes of the same, he saied to the Frenche Ambassadors, is this the full will and agrement of your Master, they answered yea: wel saied the Emperor, if this be his awne offre, I truste that he will kepe it. Then themperor thought best to bryng the Frenche kyng to more libertie, and to visite hym hymself, whiche he had not doen but in the tyme of his sickenes. Where the xiiii. daie of February, the Emperor accompaignied with the greate Constable of Fraunce, the Duke of Enphantaso, the Duke of Civill, the Duke of Nasso, the Duke of Alvoy, the Duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Medena, the Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguler, the Marques Villafranca, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barselona, the Erle of Bonivent, the erle of Jeniver, the Erle of Selenas, the Erle of Arrowffe, the Erle of Salvator, and xii. Bishoppes, and a greate nomber of nobles, came to the castle of Madrill, to whom was the Frenche kyng brought with a noble repaire, to whom the Emperor made lo reverence, and declared to hym how all victories, consist in the hande of God, and where greate debate, warre, and strief, had long continued betwene them, he said it was the very handy worke of God, to deliver hym to captivitie, so that by his restraint of libertie, a generall peace should be concluded through all Christendome, and now sithe you have offered us reasonable condicions, we entendyng not your punishement, nor restraint of your libertie have gently received your offers, signed with your awne hande, whiche all your nobles shall heare redde.

In primis, the Frenche kyng sware to kepe peace, bothe by land and by water with the Emperor and his subjectes, of all landes, territories, or dominions, be longyng to the Emperor or the Empire. 1.

Item, the saied Frenche kyng clerely renounced, all the right, title, or interest whiche he had or pretended, to the realme of Napels, or the kyngdome of Scicile. 2.

Item, the saied Frenche kyng clerely renounced his right and title, to the Duchie of Millain, and the Countie of Ast. 3.

Item, the same kyng surrendered into themperors handes the whole Duchie of Burgoyn, the Countie Charoloys, 4.

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loys, with all castles and lordshippes apperteinyng to the same, with al maner of sovereigntie, apperteignyng to the croune of Fraunce by reason of the same.

5. Item, the saied kyng surrendered and relased, all the sovereigntie whiche he claimed of the Counties of Flaunders and Arthoys, and thother lowe countreys, so that they from thence furthe should never sue to any Parliament of Fraunce by appele, or resorte, the Counties of Guysnes, Arde, and Bullonoys alwaye except.

6. Item, he released all the right and title, that he had to the citee of Tournay and Turnesyns, and to the tounes of Hedyng and Arras, with all Castles and dominions apperteignyng to the same with the title of the sovereigntie and resort of the same, to the Parliamentes of Fraunce.

7. Item, he sware and promysed, never to helpe nor aide the Lorde Dalbrethe, called the kyng of Naverr by covyn or other wise, against themperor or his heires nor successors.

8. Item, that he nor none other by his assent, should maintein, aide or comfort Charles Duke of Geldres, nor maintein sir Robert de la Marche, by no meanes against the Emperor, or his countreys, or dominions.

9. Item, he promised at his awne costes and charges, to finde five hundred men of armes, and tenne thousande footemen, to do the Emperour service, whensoever that he toke his jorney toward Rome, for the obteignyng of his croune and scepter Imperiall, and to paie their wages for sixe monethes.

10. Item, he promised to be enemie to all persones, whiche would go about or entend in any wyse, to let or disturbe the saied jorney to Rome.

11. Item, he promised to discharge the Emperor against the king of Englande, for the somme of twoo hundred thousande Crounes whiche, he ought then to the kyng of Englande, and to deliver the Emperor a sure acquitaunce for the same, whiche amounteth in starlyng money xl.M.l.

12. Item, he released all the pencions, whiche he claimed of the realmes of Napels and Scicile, whiche was yerely a hundred thousand dukattes.

13. Item, for the surer performaunce of all these articles, it

it was agreed that the Frenche kyng should at his departyng, deliver into the Emperors handes, the Dolphin of Vien, and Henry Duke of Orleaunce, his twoo elder sonnes, which should remain in Spain, till that all these articles wer performed: and if after he came into his realme, the three estates of Fraunce, would not condiscend and agree to these articles, which he had offered and sworne, then he should shortly come again into Spain, and yeld hymself prisoner again, and his children then to be redelivered into Fraunce.

Item, for the more fortificacion of this concorde, and for the more amitie to be had betwene the twoo princes and their realmes, the Emperor offered in mariage to the Frenche kyng, the noble princes lady Elinor late Quene of Portyngall, with a greate dowar, and offered to hym with her in mariage three faire lordeshippes, called Ansames, Maconoyes, and Barsur, the whiche the Frenche kyng joyfully accepted: But this offre was condicionally, so that the whole agrement toke effecte, or els not. Some saied as you heard before that the Frenche Quene was poysoned for this intent: but evill tongues never saied well. To al these articles and many mo, the Frenche kyng sware before the Emperor, and all his nobles the xiiii. daie of February.

In the tyme of this entreatie came into Spayne, Charles Duke of Burbon whiche appelled the Frenche kyng, that he contrary to al right and Justice, had procured and imagened, the death and destruccion of the saied Duke without any cause, but onely to possede his soveraigneties and dominions, by reason whereof, the saied Duke was compelled to live in exile, out of his countrey, and that the Regent of Fraunce, contrary to Justice had proclaimed hym a traitor, and seazed all his goods and landes, wherefore he desired that the Frenche kyng, might to hym make a condigne recompense: to whom the Emperour answered, that a prisoner might not bee appeled: but yet for his good service, the Emperor did so muche, that an article was concluded, that the duke of Burbon should bee restored to his firste title, state, honor, and dignitie, and to all his other Duches, Counties, seigniories, and Dominions, and there the Frenche kyng frely pardoned to hym al offences, and sware that al proces, proclamacions, impeticions, had or dooen against hym should bee voyde, annulled and repeled, and

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and farther the Frenche kyng in recompence of al wronges doen to him, and for the restitucion of his goodes, promised and sware to paie the same duke CC. thousande crounes, with al the rentes, and profites received of the landes of the saied duke, in the tyme of his exile. When al these articles wer concluded, sworne, and appoynted, the Emperour judged that the Frenche kyng, would never love the Duke of Burbon, and that by some newe found faute, or by some privy enemie, he might bee brought to confusion: wherefore of his noble liberalitie, consideryng the good service that the duke had doen to hym, and might do if he were of possessions and dominions gave unto the Duke the whole Duchie of Millain, so that the saied duke should finde yerely foure thousande footemen, and five hundred men of armes, and paie to the Emperor yerely foure thousande Ducates, but he never obteigned the possession, for lacke of the investure of creacion: also the Emperoure gave to the Viceroy of Napels, the Duchie of Boysee, and the Countie of Ast, and many greate rewardes for his good service.

This peace thus concluded betwene the Emperour and the Frenche kyng was openly proclaimed through all Spain, Fraunce, Flaunders and the Emperours dominions, whereof their subjectes were glad, and made fiers and triumphes through all their countreys. The kyng of Englande like wyse, whiche was included in the same League, was very glad of the peace, and caused the Cardinall and all the nobles and prelates, to assemble at the Cathedrall Churche of saincte Paule, and there was *Te deum* song, and the Cardinall gave benediccion to all the people, and that night fires was made through all London. The common people said as thei thought: some saied the peace was honorable to the Emperoure, and other saied, the Frenche kyng would not kepe his promise, when he was once delivered, and so it proved.

The kyng of England hearing that the Frenche kyng was at a poynt to be delivered, sent a knight of his chamber, called sir Thomas Cheyney to the French kyng, certefiyng him of the great gladnes that he had of his delivery, and also the comfort that he had for the conclusion of peace: of whiche kynd remembraunce, the French kyng muche rejoysed. The French kyng toke his leave of themperor and toke his jorney into Fraunce ward, and came to Victoria,

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Victoria, in whiche season the fame went, that the Dolphin whiche should have been delivered as one of the hostages for the French Kyng his father was disseased, and so the Frenche Kyng was stayed for xv. daies, till the truth was knowen: other saied that the cause was that there wer betwene Fontrabie and Bayon xxx.M. men, and doubted lest if he had been brought doune to Fountraby, he might have been rescued: but whatsoever the cause was, he was restraigned as you have harde.

The deliverie of the French Kyng.

And at the last when the daie came of his delivery, and he was discretely moved, that he should not speake to his children, for feare that lamentacion and sorowe might in suche wise rise, that hurte might ensue of it. When the daie was come that he should be delivered, there was betwene the borders of Fraunce and Spain, a Lake of no great depenes, in the middes whereof was laied a greate emptie boate at an anker, and at every shore was another boate, and when the French kyng was come to the banke, he entered the boate on the Spanishe side, and sixe Spaniardes with hym, and like wise on the Frenche part, the twoo Princes sonnes to the Frenche kyng, entered the other boate and sixe Frenchmen with them, and so bothe the boates came to the boat liyng in the middes. The Frenche kyng entered at the one ende, and his children at the other, and passed through the great boate, and even in the middest of the boate thei met, and he with his hande blessed theim, without speakyng of any wordes, but sadly regarded theim, and so he entered into the boate with the Frenchemen, and his children into the boate with Spaniardes, and eche of theim were shortly at the shore, and mounted on horsebacke, and the Frenche king rode to Bayon, where he was nobely received, almost of al these nobles in the realme, and in especial of his mother: and his ii. children were conveighed to Fountraby and so upward, and were well cherished in al thynges, by the great Constable of Spain and his wife.

Thus was Frances the Frenche kyng, conveighed into his realme the xxi. daie of Marche, whiche was taken the xxiiii. daie of February, the yere last past.

The mariage of themperor.

After that themperor had concluded, and taken his leave of the Frenche kyng, he rode to the faire citee of Civill, and there he with greate triumph maried lady Isabell, daughter

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daughter to kyng Emanuell of Portingall, with whom he had greate threasures and sommes of money, and great frendship of the Portyngalles, for he had xi. hundred thousande Ducates with her mariage. When this mariage was knowen in Englande, the Englishemen sore murmured, that the Emperor beyng at Wynsore, in the xiiii. yere of the king, had faithfully promised to mary, the lady Mary, daughter to the Kyng of Englande. But for a verie truthe the Emperoures counsaill was not content with the answere made to Monsire de Bevers the last yere, and so counsaled the Emperour, not to tary for the lady Mary whiche was young: and also thei saied that she was begotten of the Kyng of Englande by his brothers wife. And also an acte was made in Spain, that he should not depart the countrey, till he had issue. All these thynges were laied to hym, whiche caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the greate offer that the kyng of Portyngal mad to him, he was there to agreyng, and so maried the lady Isabell, sister to kyng Jhon of Portyngall.

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The xviii. yere.

THE xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the beginnyng of this xviii. yere, came to the Court to Grenewiche, Monsire Brenion chief president of Roan, and Jhon Jokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche President of Roan before the Kyng sette in a Throne, and accompaignied with all his nobles, and the Ambassadors of Rome, of the Emperor, of Venice, and Florence, beyng there present, made in the Latyn toungue a solempne oracion, the effect wherof was that he shewed, how dredfull the warres had been betwene the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, what greate losse the realme of Fraunce, had susteigned by the saied warres: He declared farther of what power the kyng of Englande was of and what conquest he might have made in Fraunce, the kyng beyng prisoner, and knowleged the kyng of Englandes right in the warres, and their wronges, where he humbly thanked hym, of his pitie and compassion that he had on them in their necessitie and affliccion, that he would concent to peace. To this Oracion the Chanceller of the Duchie of Lancastre, by name sir Thomas

The oracion of the President of Roan.

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Thomas More made answere saiyng: that it muche rejoysed the kyng, that thei first considered, how by his power he might have oppressed, and how by his pitie he had releved them: wherfore he would here after that for kindnes, they should shewe hym none unkindnes, but inviolatly kepe that league whiche was concluded.

The peace sworne.

The next daie after beeyng Sondaie, the Cardinall song a solempne Masse, in the kynges chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the kyng sware before the Frenche Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors above rehersed being present, that he should kepe the peace and league concluded, betwene hym and his brother and perpetuall alie the French kyng, duryng his life and a yere after, and after Masse to all Ambassadoures was made a greate feast.

In the moneth of Maie was a proclamacion made, against al unlawfull games, accordyng to the statutes made in this behalf, and commissions a warded into every shire, for the execucion of the same, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cardes, and Boules, wer taken and brent. Wherfore the people murmured against the Cardinall, saiyng: that he grudged at every mannes pleasure, savyng his awne, but this Proclamacion smal tyme endured: and when young men were forbidden Boules and suche other games: some fell to drinkyng, and some to ferettyng of other mennes Conies, and stealyng of Dere in Parkes, and other unthriftines.

Because all this Sommer the Kyng tooke his pastyme in huntyng, and nothyng happened worthie to bee written of: I will returne to the Frenche kyng, now come again into his realme.

When he was at Paris he saied and wrote to the Emperour, that he would observe and kepe his promises in every point, but what he thought I will not judge: for shortly after he set furth a boke, called the appologie or defence against the convencion or agrement made betwene the Emperor and hym at Madrill, allegyng that he was compelled to make that agrement, or els he should never have been delivered: He alleged farther that the Lawyers of his realme clerely determined, al promyses and covenauntes made by any persone to his awne hurt, with hym that is more of power then he, to be made by compulsion, and so of none effect and not to be performed. He also sayed that the governors of

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of the Lawe, determined that no othe or promise is of any effecte, wher a manne is in jeoperdie of life, or of perpetuall inprisonement or bondage, and moste in especiall when it is doen by compulsion or thretenyng. Moreover he saied that he might geve awaye nothyng apperteinyng to his Croune, without thassent of his peeres, and the three estates of his realme (to the whiche he was sworne at the time of his Coronacion) whiche would therto in no wise assent, and therfore he saied that his othe and promes was voyd, and so he declared to the Viceroy of Napels beyng then with him as Ambassadour for the Emperor, and offered for his raunsome to paye asmuche money as ever Frenche kyng paied, with diverse other articles of newe devised.

When these articles came to the Emperor, he them refused and saied, that he had desired nothyng impossible of the Frenche Kyng, and if he might not or would not kepe, the appoyntement betwene theim made, yet he bad hym kepe that poynt of covenaunt, whiche onely depended in his will, that was that he should yelde hymself prisoner againe, and so he should have his children delivered: and then he would reasonably commen with hym, of newe articles of agrement, and as to the appollegie set furthe by the Frenche kyng, that his othe and promesse was voyde, and made by compulsion and threatenyng, it was answered by another boke called the Refutacion or Overcommyng of the apollogie, of the convencion of Madrill. Whiche twoo woorkes were so eloquently set furth, with suche and so many perswacions and allegacions, bothe on the one part and the other, that it would comber a wise man (except he were perfectly indifferent) to judge to whiche parte he should moste encline, and geve credence, therfore I leave it at large.

After that the Frenche kyng was delivered, and the peace concluded, the Emperor was fully determined to passe the seas into Italy, and so to Rome, and there to be crouned Emperor, wherof hearyng the bishop of Rome, called Pope Clement the seventh, a man of great wit and vice, and of litle vertue or learnyng: much doubted in himself what damage might come to hym, if the Emperor had bothe Naples, Sicill, and the Duchie of Millain, and also wer crouned Emperor. Wherefore he sent to the Venicians, and to the Florentines, and to Fraunces Sforce duke of Millain, whiche had committed treason against themperor, and

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and was deprived by judgement of his name and dignitie, and the same geven to the Duke of Burbon, but yet by power he kept muche of the possession: and declared to them, by what puyssance the Emperor would come into Italy, and what greate possessions he had there at every ende of Italy, so that if he wer once crouned Emperor, he would loke to have the seigniorie of all Italy: wherfore they consulted and debated for their awne suretie, how to banishe him and his all Italy by power: and as thei wer debatyng of this matter, thei hard worde how the French kyng was returned into Fraunce, and sought all waies and meanes, how to breake with the Emperour. When they sawe so open an accion offered to them, with al diligence thei sent their severall Ambassadors, that is to saie, the Pope twain, the duke of Venice called Andrew Gritty, one (which was his secretorie) and the Florentynes one, and the Duke of Millain one, these five Ambassadours came to the Frenche Kyng, and declared what joye and gladnes their masters had of his safe returne into his realme, and then thei shewed to him how thei by the Bishop of Romes exhortacion had devised a league, whiche should set a perpetuall peace betwene all princes Christen, and for the more expedicion they had set furth and agreed upon articles, for the whole league. When the Frenche kyng saw the articles it was as he would have it, for he thought by the whole power of the confederates, his children should be delivered, and he yet again once to have a medelyng in Italy: wherefore with greate gladnes and solempnitie, he entered into the league, and sware to kepe it, and gave to the Ambassadors great rewardes.

The first article of this league was, that themperor, the kyng of Englande, and all other kynges and princes, might entre into the same, and if the kyng of Englande would, he should bee admitted as protector of the same league. 1.

But yet the Emperour should not bee admitted, till he had delivered the Frenche kynges chyldren, havyng a resonable somme of money for the same, nor before he had restored the Duke of Millain to his whole Duchie franckly and frely, and all other persones of Italy, in like maner as thei wer before the last warres began: Nor he shal not once come into Italy for his Coronacion or other wise, but with suche a traine as the Pope and the Duke of Venice shall thynke

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thynke convenient, and that with in three monethes after he had entered into this league, he shall paye to the kyng of England, al suche sommes as he ought him before the time.

2. Item, If themperor would not entre, then the sayd confederates should assemble a greate armie in Italy, accordyng as every one should bee assessed, and this armie to be mainteigned, till the Emperors power were driven out of Italy.

3. Item, that the Emperor shalbe warned, to deliver the Frenche kynges children, and to fall to a resonable poynt with hym, whiche thynges yf he deny to dooe, then the confederates certifie hym, that they shall never cease till he be brought to reason.

4. Item, that a greate navie should be prepared on all the coastes of Italy at the common costes of the confederates.

5. Item, that Fraunces Sforce shall enjoy the Duchie of Millain, paiyng yerely to the Frenche kyng fiftie thousande Ducattes, and the French kyng never to claime the same.

6. Item, the Frenche Kyng or the Duke of Orleaunce hys sonne, shall have the Countie of Ast.

7. Item, if the Emperour bee expelled oute of Napels and Sicill, then the realmes to be at the gift of the Pope, paiyng yerely to the French kyng lxxv. thousande Ducattes.

8. Item, yf the kyng of Englande wyll take upon hym as Protector of this league, then he or his sonne (the Duke of Richemond) to have a duchie or a principalitie in the realme of Napels, to hym and to his heires, to the somme of thirtie thousande Ducattes at the least, and the Cardinal of Yorke to have a yerely pencion of x. thousand Ducates. This league was concluded at Cogmace or the xxii. daye of Maye in this yere.

When this League was thus concluded, it was sent to the Kyng of Englande, whiche with greate deliberacion like a wise prince, consulted muche with his counsaill of this waightie matter, and when al thinges wer fully perceived, he answered to thambassadours, that he thanked muche the confederates of their good will, but he would not entre into the league, because he would be an indifferent entreator betwene bothe parties and a meane for a peace: and so he wrote to the Emperor, whiche hartely thanked hym, and toke it

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it for greate kyndnes : this league was called the holy league of Clement. When the Byshop of Rome sawe that this league was concluded, because he would shewe that he and the confederates, had just cause of warre against the Emperour, for thinges done in Italy, he sent to hym a letter, dated at Rome the xxiii. daie of June : in the whiche letter he moste craftely laied to the Emperours charge, what he had done for hym before he was Pope, and sithe he was promoted to that dignitie, he left nothyng unremembred, that either he had frendly meant or actually done to the Emperor : and accused him of muche unkindnes, and in especiall that he would not pardon Frances Sforce duke of Millain, at his request. He accused hym also of the coveteous desire which he had, to have or obtein the whole Monarchie of Italy, with many other pretie invencions : For whiche causes he saied he was compelled, for the suretie of all Italy, and in especiall for the churche of Rome, to joyne hymself with greate Prynces, and to make warre for the defence of the same. This letter was delivered to the Emperour with all spede, to whom the Emperour answered by a letter, dated the xiiii. daie of September, conteinyng xxiiii. shetes of paper, in suche wyse that all wyse men maie se by the same, that the Romyshe byshop accused themperour, where he should have blamed hymself, for the Emperour laied a greate nomber of ingratitudes and untruthes to hym, and clerely avoyded all thynges, that he laied to his charge. The Pope sent his Ambassadour another letter, that if the first letter were not delivered, then he should retaine it, but as God would, for manifestyng of the truthe, the letter was delivered tenne dayes before.

After the first letters written, the holy father of Rome raised in all hast an armie of eight thousande footemen, with a valiaunt compaignie of horsmen, whiche passed the river of Poo, and joyned themselfes with the power of the Venicians, wherof was capitain Frances duke of Urbine, and so they all together marched toward Millain : and in the meane season they had sent Octavian Sforcia Byshop of Aretyne, whiche for the Frenche kyng should retaine xiiii.M. Swisses, and they were comming out of Swyserlande, to joyne with the armie of Italy. Thyntent of this armie was to drive al the Emperours power out of the Duchie of Millain, but all their devises proved contrary, as you shall after

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after plainly perceive. For you shall understande, that although the Frenche kyng was taken before Pavia, a yere and more before this tyme, and all the Frenche men driven out of the Duchie of Millain, yet the Emperour left not the duchie without an armie, for he left there Anthony de Leva, whiche was capitain of Pavia, at the siege laied by the Frenche kyng, and Fernando Davall and Alphons his brethren, two valiant capitaines, but Fernando died, the more pitie: these capitaines had with them Spaniardes and Almaines and other, to the nomber of eight or tenne thousande, and laie still till the newe confederacie set forwarde, and especially they were sore moved with Frances Sforce duke of Millain, whiche had the possession of the moste part of all the fortresses of the duchie, that he would be one of the confederates: wherfore they thought best to begyn with hym and to get the possession out of his hand. Wherefore Alphons Davall sent for all themperors armie together, and they came al together to warre, and when he was there, he sent for Moron chief counsailer with the duke of Millain, whiche mistrustyng nothyng came to hym, and there he laied to him how the duke his master was false to the Emperour, and Moron it denied, then he was kept there as a prisoner, whether it were by cautele or no I cannot tell, but he wrote to the Duke, that he perceived that the Emperoure was lyke to prevayle, and advysd him for avoydyng of all mistrust, and also to shewe hym self the very frende of the Emperor, and his obedient subject, to delyver all the strong holdes into his capitaines handes: The Duke hearyng this counsaill, and willyng not to have the enmitie of the Emperiall Capitaines, assented and delivered to Davall all the fortresses that he had, except the castelles of Millain and Cremona, whiche he saied he kepte onely for the healthe of his body, because he had bene long sicke.

Then Davall with his power of Almains and Spaniardes came to the citie of Millain and lodged his people in every house, and fearing that the duke imagened some thyng by kepyng of the twoo strongest castels, for if he delyvered these two castelles to the armie of the confederates, the Emperoures capitaines and people should be in great daunger: wherefore he gentely with greate perswasion desired to have the kepyng of the castell of Millain, whiche the Duke would in nowise assent,

assent, mistrusting, that then he shoulde lese the duchie and all, wherefore Davall with all spede layed sege to the castell, the duke being within. During the tyme of this sege, the capitaines ever toke money and other thinges from the citezens whiche sore therat grudged and saied that they would suffer it no more, and so as an Almain came to a smith for a docate, the smith cried helpe, and with that the toune rose: then the capitaines came into the citie to se what was done, the souldiers that kept the sege seing that, ranne into the citie and there was muche entretyng on both partes.

The duke hering the noies in the citie and seing the besegers gone, came out of the castle, thynkyng that his frendes had come to his reskue, but when he sawe no succour, and harde the noyes seased, he entred the castell agayne. When the Capitaynes had long intreated the people were ones contented, but by meanes of one sedicious felowe they began again, and there was a sore fight, but the night came so faste on, that both the partes severed them selves.

The citezens sore greved with the Spaniardes said openly that shortly they trusted to se all themperours frendes driven out of Italy, and with many yll woordes rebuked the souldiers: and when they came into thee citie they hurt them.

Anthony delava and Davall, perceivyng this, devysed how to be revenged, wherfore in the evenyng they entred with a M. Spaniardes and other, and slewe one citizen and set his hed on a polle and caused it to be borne afore them and set iii. or iiii. houses a fire, which when the citizens perceived they wer greatly aferd and ran to harnesse, and cast doune stones and barres, but the hand gonnes shot so fast at them, that thei durst not loke out: the Almaines set fire in many houses, least they should have leyser to fyght, and some of the Spaniardes that kept the towers, slewe the citezens. Alas the citie was in greate perill, and that well perceived Leva and Davall, for if the remnant of the Spaniardes had come in, the whole cytie had bene burned or utterly destroied: wherfore they caused the souldiers to cease, whiche were content, for they had bene in harnes from the sunne set, tyll nyne of the clocke the next daie.

In this season tharmy of the confederates, made hast to help

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help the duke of Millain, and in the meane waie the citie of Lawde was yelded to the duke of Urbin: Davall went thether with a small compaignie to reskew the citie and when he sawe that it was past reskew he returned, saiyng: it wer better to lese Lawde, then Millain, and so brought all his people to Millain.

The Emperour from tyme to tyme was advertised, of all thynges done in Italy, wherfore with great diligence he sent the duke of Burbon thether, with ten saile, and landed at Savona, and brought with hym x.M. men, wherof the Millaners were very glad, and besought him to be good to them, to whom he gave many good woordes and sware, and praied God that his braynes might be striken out with a gonne, except he did deliver them shortly of their great burden, and oppression of the Spaniardes, so they would deliver hym xxx.M. ducates, for the wages of the souldiers that he had brought with hym, whiche wishe was thought to have happened to hym at Rome, for breakyng of his promes: for after he had received the money, for a litle space the Millaners were in good quiet, but shortly after they were worse then afore, in so muche as some substancial men, for feare of their lives, hanged themselfes.

When the Millaners hard how the citie of Lawde was taken, and the Spaniardes put out, they thought that v.M. Spaniardes and iii.M. Almaines, and no great nomber of horsemen, beyng without wages and vitaile, could not defende so great a citie long, against the whole power of the princes confederate. While the power of the confederates, wer slowly commyng to Millain ward, the duke and his compaignie lacked victaile, wherfore of necessitie, when they sawe the watche negligently kept, they sent out of the castle CC. men, whiche with strength passed the siege, and came to the armie of the confederates, and shewed them in what case the castle was in, whiche bad theim be of a good chere, and so they marched forwarde towarde a gate of Millain, called Rome gate, and Jhon de Medices whiche led the forward, shot sixe gonnes at a tower to have overthrowen the same, and so to have entered in by that waye. The Emperors men came to the place, and not onely defended the same, but valiauntly set forward to fight with their enemies, and skirmished with them very sore. The Italians seyng that the Spaniardes wer so fierce, thought it not best to fight with them,

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them, but to tary tyll the Swysses were come, and then they thought themselfes sure of victory: and so with shame inough, they returned to Meligia.

After this returne, the Imperialles fortified the citie in many places. The duke of Millein seyng that he lacked victaile, and that his succors had failed hym, sent to the duke of Burbon worde, that he would deliver the castle, so that he should be bound to no farther inconvenience: so thei agreed that he and his, should have their bagge and baggage, and should have the citie of Come for his abode, til he wer tried of themperor, of the accusacions against hym alleged: upon whiche condicion he yelded the castle, and went directly to tharmy of the confederates. And after that he went to Come, accordyng to his appoynctment: but the Spaniardes whiche kepte the toune, would not suffre hym to entre, wherefore of necessitie he was compelled to returne, to tharmy of the confederates, and there became enemie to themperours meny. All this sommer tharmie of Italy gat nothing, but the citie of Lawde, and thei durst not fight with the Spaniardes, wherfore they went and besieged Cremona, in the which were i.M. Almaines, and v.C. Spaniardes. Al the Swisshes and viii.M. of the Popes men, and all the horsemen of Malatesta, were sent to the siege, whereof was capitain thesaied Malatesta Ballio Perusine, whiche, as he would have entered the castle was slain, and i.M. men and more of his bende: wherfore the duke of Urbyne, and the whole army of the Venicians wer sent for, whiche made so great a nomber, and had suche ordinaunce, that they within began to treate, and by appoyntment delivered the citie.

The castle of Millain yelded to themperours use.

After this, the whole army of the Italians or confederates, determined clerely to besiege Millain, but sodainly the byshop of Rome sent for his army (for what cause you shal here after) and also thei hard say, that George Fronsberge a valiant capitain an Almain, which served themperor in his last warres: was comming with xiiii.M. lance knightes, which were paied their wages afore hand, for iiii. monethes, to aide themperors part. When the confederate army hard this, thei wer astonied, and durst not enterprise the siege, but at a certain Abbay, two myle from the citie of Millain, they made a fortificacion for iii.M. fotemen, and five hundred horsemen, to lie surely al wynter, to suffre no recourse to come

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come to the citie, whiche citie was all Sommer season well fortified and victailed.

After the Popes army was departed at Cremona, as you have hard, there came to tharmy of the confederates, Michael Anthonio Marques of Saluce, as capitain generall for the Frenche kyng, and brought with hym iiii.M. Gascons, and v.C. men of armes, and xv.C. light horses, according to the league. Then this whole army hearyng that the Almaines were comming forward with great ordinaunce, and a great nomber of horse men, and had passed the straightes of the mountaignes maugre the Venicians, and that conradine Lepontine, whiche had delivered up Cremona with i.M. Almaines, was joyned with capitain George. When tharmy of the confederates were well informed of this greate armie, that was commyng toward Millain, the capitaines clerely determined to mete with them, and by battaill or otherwise, to let them from passyng the ryver of Poo, or to joyne with themperors armie, wherfore they marched forwarde, and founde that the Almaines were come into the territories of Mantua: then the duke of Urbyn, and Jhon de Medices cosin to the Pope thought to wery the Almaines with light skirmishes, but Jhon de Medices skirmished so nere tharmie, to get hym a name above other, that he was hit with a gonne, and so shortely died. Then the Almaines came to Florenciola and there toke counsaill, and thought it not best to sojorne all wynter in the Duchie of Millain, because all thyng there was scace, by reason of the continuall warres: wherefore they determined to take the Popes tounes, as aucthor of all the mischief and warre, and surely they had taken the toune of Plesance, if tharmie of the confederates had not strongly, both with men and artillery, fortified the toune.

While all these thynges were a doyng, there continued a greate hatered betwene the bishop of Rome, and the noble family of Colume in Rome all whiche famely was Imperiall, in so muche that the Byshop saied to Pompey Cardinal of Colume, that he would take awaie his Cardinalles hat, and thother answered if he did so, that he would put on a helmet to overthrowe his thre crounes. When this malice had long continued, the Byshop of Rome began to lacke money, to maintein his warres, and sore he fered the Columes his domesticall enemies, and so of his awne mocion began

An answer of a Cardinal to the Bishop of Rome.

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began to breake the matter with Ascayn Colume, sonne to Prosper de Columna, in name of the whole bloud of the Columes, saiyng: that it were more convenient for both parties to agree, then to abide the chaunce of battaill, to the whiche they bothe were parties (for the Columes had men of warre in themperors battaill, as the byshop had in tharmy of the confederates) then every daie to retaine souldiers at home, eche for feare of other, to their great charges and losse. Ascaine hearyng this saied he would speake with his kynred, and so did: and this communicacion had taken effect, and Hugo de Moncado had not bene. For this Hugo was a litle before sent from themperor to the Pope, with certain articles to conclude a peace, to the whiche the Pope would not agre, saiyng he came to late, and when he sawe the byshops proude aunswer, and perceived him enemie to his master, he then sought an occasion, to oppresse, the bishop and his power, and so moved the Cardinall of Colume, and Ascain Colume, to invade Rome with a sodain fraie, and to take Pope Clement or he wer ware.

They beyng glad to please themperor, gathered secretly ii.M. souldiers, and entered Rome with suche spede, that they were at s. Jhon Laterence nere to the Popes Palace, or any man spied theim, then began a crie, the Cardinall of Colume commeth with a great power. The Pope thynkyng it to late to sende for aide, fled by a secret vawte to the castle Angell, and with hym fled Cardinalles, Bishoppes, and other of his palace, to a greate nomber, so that there was not victaile inough, for theim all. The byshop Clement sawe that shortly he and they, should be famished in the castle, sent to Hugo de Moncado, whiche had declared that he was thauctour of this act, not mindyng to hurt the Pope, but to make hym themperors frend, or els to cause hym to surcesse, for doyng themperor any damage, and to the said Hugo he offered, to kepe peace with the Emperor and his confederates for foure monethes, and in the meane season to treate a peace, and also to call his armie again over the Poo, and for the performaunce of this, he delivered to the Columes good hostage, and returned his armie from Cremona, as you have hard before, and so he was delivered at large: Now will I leave the Emperors armie liyng in Italy, and speake of a greate mischief that fell in Hungary.

The greate Turke Sultan Soliman Pac, hearyng of the strief

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strief and warre that was betwene Christen prynces, imagened that his tyme was come, to do some great act in Christendom, wherfore he assembled a puissant armie of C.xx.M. men, and entered into Hongary, sore destroiyng the countrey. Wherof hearing Lewes kyng of Hongary, a couragious knight of xxvi. yere of age, with a small nomber marched forward in June, and was on the greate army of the Turkes or he wist, and so with good courage joyned battail, but he was oppressed with multitude, and was compelled to flie into a marreis, where he horse and man were drouned and many other with hym, his body was found after and buried. The saiyng was that he was betraied, by an Erle of his awne, called Jhon de Voada, and so it was likely, for the Turke afterward made hym kyng of Hongary, but he enjoyed but one part of it called Transilvania: for Fernando themperors brother, whiche had maried the sister and heire of kyng Lewes that was slain, kept the chief part of Hongary. The greate Turke hymself was not at the fight, but when he hard that the kyng was slain, he rejoysed much, and spoyled the countrey, and brought many a Christian soule into captivitie to Turkey. Of this victory he wrote to the Venicians, as to his frendes, whiche letter was red openly in Venice, before Doctor Pace Ambassadour there for the kyng of England, but whether they were joyous or sorowfull of the tidynges, I cannot well tell you.

The kyng of Hongary drouned.

This sommer was great grudge against merchant strangers in London, in somuch that if the matter had not bene well pacified, much busines might have folowed, the cause of the grudge was this, ther was an act made in the iiii. yere of king Henry, that no stranger should bring in no wine nor woade in an aliens ship: so that thenglishmen after that went to Tholose, and brought much woade to London, and served all the clothiers repairyng to London: and now in this yere by meanes of gentelmen about the kyng, the strangers had license to bring in woade in strangers bottomes, so that all London was ful of their woade, and also they sent their woade into the countrey, so that thenglishmens woade in London lay unbought: wherefore sir Jhon Alen knight beyng Maior, sent for a great sort of strangers, which wer the chief merchantes of all, and shewed unto them what gaines they had gotten in the citie by reason wherof they should avaunce

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avaunce the citie, and not hurt it, wherfore he willed them to sel their woade to the merchantes of London, and they should be paied in continent, and not to resort to other places in the countrey with their woade, to the hinderance of the Londoners. The straungers proudely answered the Maior, that thei would seke every place for their avantage, and so in mockyng maner departed. The Maior perceivyng that, called a common counsail in the moneth of August, and there were many billes laied against the strangers, and at last it was enacted, that no citezen nor freman, should bie nor sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certain strangers, called Anthony Bonvice, Laurence Bonvice, Anthony Vivald, Anthony Caveler, Frances de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great sorte mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie with them, contrary to this acte, he should lese his fredome, and libertie in the citie of London: by whiche acte the straungers were so brideled, that they came to a reasonable poynt and conclusion.

The firste inhaunsyng of the Angell.

In this season the angel noble was just the sixt part of an ounce Troy so the six Angels wer just an ounce which was xl. s. sterlyng, and the Angel was worth ii. ounces of silver, so the six Angels were xii. ounces, whiche was but xl. s. in silver: but in Flaunders, Braband, and Zeland, the Angel was worth vii. s. iiii. d. so that merchantes daily caried over much money, to the great hinderance of the merchandise of this realme, for moste men caried gold, and when it was there, it was losse in every noble viii. d. to bryng it hether again: and when thenglishemen spake to the rulers there, to leave thenhauncyng of the kynges coyne, thei laughed them to skorne. The kyng and his counsaill perceived to what end this enhauncement in Flaunders, if it wer not met with shortly would bryng the riches of this realme: wherfore in the moneth of September, he by Proclamacion, enhaunced the Angell to vii. s. iiii. d. and the Royal to xii. s. and the croune to iiii. s. and iiii. d. and this Proclamacion was made through all England: and to bryng out of Flaunders the great nomber of Englishe golde whiche was there, the kyng by Proclamacion again, the fift daie of November, enhaunced the Angell to vii. s. vi. d. and so every ounce of golde should be xlv. s. and that an ounce of silver should be iii. s. ix. d. in value.

The second inhaunsyng.

This

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This yere on Michaelmas even, Thomas Hynd whiche was chosen shrife before, was called to take his oth, but he made defaulte, wherefore on Simon Rice was chosen which refused, then was one George Robynson Mercer chosen whiche toke his oth not to be able. The commons were in such a fury, that they sware that thei would have a Mercer. Master Nicholas Lambert an Alderman and Grocer, whiche had a dispensacion for the shrivaltie for that yere, seyng this discord, said to the commons, masters, although my tyme be not come, yet to appease your strief, if you wil chose me, I wil take it, and so he was chosen with great thankes. In this season a sodain rumor began in Spain, that themperor would have war with the kyng of England, wherof hearyng thenglishe merchantes, which lay in Spayn at diverse portes, concluded to sende to doctor Edward Lee, Ambassador for the kyng of England in themperors court to knowe the certentie, whiche gently answered them, that he trusted that there was no such cause, of the which they should be aferd, for the kyng his master and themperor wer yet in perfite love and amitie, and farther he sent them worde that the kyng of England was not entered into the league of Italy with the confederates, as they would have hym, for he laboured to make a universall peace, whiche he could not conveniently do, if he were protector or a contractor in the league, this answere he sent to theim from Granado, the v. daie of September.

In the moneth of December, the kyng kept a solempne Christmas, at his manor of Grenewyche, with greate plentie of victaile, Revels, Maskes, disguisynges, and bankettes: and the xxx. daie of December, was an enterprise of Justes made at the tilt by sixe gentelmen, againste all commers, whiche valiantly furnished thesame, bothe with spere and sworde, and like Justes were kept the third daie of January, where were CCC. speres broken. That same night, the kyng and many young gentelmen with hym, came to Bridewell, and there put hym, and xv. other all in Maskyng apparell, and then toke his Barge, and towed to the Cardinalles place, where wer at supper a great compaignie of lordes and ladies, and then the Maskers daunced, and made goodly pastyme, and when they had well danced, the Ladies plucked away their visors, and so they were all knowen, and to the kyng was made a great banket.

The

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The xiii. daie of January came to the court, Don Hugo de Mendosa, a great man borne in Spaine, of a noble famely, this person was sent as Ambassador from the Emperour, to the kyng of England with large commission, for themperor put it to the kyng of Englandes determinacion, whether his demaundes whiche he required of the Frenche Kyng, were reasonable or not, and for the declaracion thereof, and for to knowe the kyng of Englandes request and entreatie concernyng the peace, was this noble man sent into Englande, whiche many tymes consulted with the kyng and and his counsaill, and he taried here two yeres full.

A plaie at Grayes inne.

This Christmas was a goodly disguisyng plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by master Jhon Roo, serjant at the law xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any aucthoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lord governaunce was ruled by dissipacion and negligence, by whose misgovernaunce and evil order, lady Publike wele was put from governance: which caused Rumor Populi, Inward grudge and disdain of wanton sovereignitie, to ryse with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipacion, and to restore Publike welth again to her estate, whiche was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparell, with straunge divises of Maskes and morrishes that it was highly praised of all menne, savyng of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had bene divised of hym, and in a greate furie sent for the saied master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, and after he sent for the young gentelmen, that plaied in the plaie, and them hyghly rebuked and thretened, and sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete, but by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he were delivered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was never meante to hym, as you have harde, wherefore many wysemen grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and ever the Cardinall saied that the kyng was hyghly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymselfe.

Ambassadors from the Frenche kyng.

In this yere the second day of Marche were received to London, with a great compaignie of noblemen, the byshop of Tarbe, Frances viscount of Toraine, and master Anthony Vescy, second president of Paris, as Ambassadors from the Frenche kyng, and so brought through London to the Tailers hal and there lodged, and afterward were conveighed to Grenewiche

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A Justes.

Grenewiche to the kyng, where thei were right hartely enterteined, and after their letters red and their requestes hard, they departed for a season to London.

On shrovete wesdaie, the kyng himself in a newe harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not bene sene, and with hym eight gentelmen al in cloth of golde of one suite, embrodered with knottes of sylver, and the Marques of Excester, and eight with hym in blewe velvet and white saten, lyke the waves of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilte, and there ran many freshe courses, till two hundred and lxxxvi. speres were broken, and then they disarmed and went to the quenes chamber, where for them was provided a costly banket.

The Frenche ambassadours having their recourse to the kyng and his counsail, muche laboured to have in mariage the Lady Mary daughter to the kyng, and after long counsailyng, that matter was put in suspence because the president of Paris, doubted whether the mariage betwene the kyng and her mother, beyng his brothers wyfe were good or no: of this first mocion grewe muche busines or it were ended, as you shall here, afterward. The common people repugned sore against that demaunde, for they said that she was heire apparant to her father, and if she should die, they would have no Frencheman to be kyng of Englande, and thus the common people spake, as their myndes served them.

While the Frenche Ambassadours laie thus in London, it happened one evening as they were comming from the blacke Friers, from supper to the Tailers hall, two boyes were in a gutter castyng doune rubbishe, whiche the raine had driven there, and unwar hit a lackay belongyng to the viscount of Tourain, and hurt hym nothyng, for scantly touched it his cote, but the Frenche lordes toke the matter highly, as a thyng done in dispite and sent worde to the Cardinall, whiche beyng to hastie of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimer knight, lord Maior of the citie, and in all hast commaunded hym upon his allegeance, to take the husband, wyfe, chyldren and servauntes of the house, and theim to emprison, tyll he knewe farther of the kynges pleasure, and that the ii. boyes apprentices should be sent to the Tower, whiche commaundement was accomplished without any favour: For the man and his wife, and servauntes, wer kept in the Counter till the syxt daye of Maie, whiche was six wekes ful,

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ful, and their neighbours of gentlenes kepte their house in the meane tyme, and one of the apprentices died in the tower, and the other was almost lame: of the crueltie of the Cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchemen, muche people spake, and would have bene revenged on the Frenchemen, if wysemen in the citie had not appeased it with faire wordes.

Ambassadors from the Kyng of Hongerie.

On the xiiii. daie of Marche wer conveighed from London to Grenewiche, by therle of Rutlande and other, the lord Gabliel de Salamanka Erle of Ottonbrough, Jhon Burgrave of Silverberge, and Jhon Faber a famous clerke after byshop of Vien, as Ambassadors from Don-Fernando, brother to the Emperor, newly elected kyng of Hungary and Beame, after the death of his brother in lawe kyng Lewes, whiche was slain by the turke the last Sommer, as you have hard before: this compaignie was welcomed of the high Officers, and after brought into the kynges presence, all the nobilitie beyng present, and therafter great reverence made, the saied Clerke Master Faber made a notable Oracion, takyng his ground of the Gospell, *Exiit seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christe and his disciples went furthe to sowe, and how their sede was good that fell into the good ground, and brought furth good fruite, whiche was the Christenfaithe: and then he declared how contrary to that sowyng, Machomete had sowen seede, whiche brought furthe the evill sede, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turke have encresed in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued even to that daie: he declared farther what actes the great Turk then livyng had done, and in especial he noted the gettyng of Belgrade, and of the Rhodes, and the slaiyng of the kyng of Hungary, to the great rebuke (as he said) of al the kynges christened: he set furth also what power the Turke had, what diversities of compaignies, what armure, what capitaines he had so that he thought, that without a marveilous greate nomber of people, he could not be overthrowen: Wherfore he moste humbly beseched the kyng, as sainct Georges Knight, and defender of the faithe, to assist the kyng his Master, in that Godly warre and verteous purpose. To this oracion the kyng, by the mouthe of sir Thomas More answered, that muche he lamented the losse that happened in Hongarie, and if it were not for the warres, whiche were betwene the

An Oracion made by Master Faber.

The answere.

ii.

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ii. great princes, he thought that the Turke would not have enterprysed that acte, wherfore he with all his studie would take pain, first, to set an unitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that he bothe with money and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glorious warre, asmuche as any other prince in Christendom. After this done the Ambassadours were well cherished, and diverse tymes resorted to the Courte, and had greate chere and good rewardes, and so the third daie of Maie next ensuyng, they toke their leave and departed homeward.

Themperors letter to the Frenche kyng.

This season the fame went, that themperor had written to the French kyng, admonishyng hym to regarde his othe and promes toward God, and his honor and fame toward the worlde, allegyng that if he kept his promise towarde hym, that he should fynde hym suche a frende, that all Fraunce should rejoyse of it, and if he would not kepe his former promes, which he made and sware at Madrill, he toke God to witnesse, that he would never leave the warre, til fire and sworde had brought hym to accomplishe his promes, er els to drive hym out of his realme and dominions wyth strength and puissaunce, whiche letter the Frenche kyng nothyng regarded saiyng that the Emperoure the nexte yere shoulde have warre inough.

The fame went and letters came to London, that the Emperours army in Italy the xii. day of April had met with the Venicians as they were goyng homeward, and that betwene them there was a cruell fyght and by fyne force the Venicians were put to flight, and no marvel as the Venicians aunswere, for they say that by cause there was a peace concluded for sixe monethes betwene the byshop of Rome, and Hugo Demountcado, and that the viceroy of Naples was come to Rome to confirme thesame truce, therfore thei sent their ordinaunce and harnes and loked for no warre, but onely taried together till they were paied there wages, and so unprovided they were set on and overcome.

In the ende of this yere the people were sore troubled with povertie for the great paymentes of money that were past, and also in wynter in the seade season fell suche abundans of rayne in Septembre, Novembre and Decembre, and on the xvi. day of Janiver fell suche a greate rayne that thereof ensued greate fluddes whiche destroied corne, fieldes,

fieldes, and pastures: and drouned many shepe and beastes: then was it dry tyll the xii. day of Aprill and from thence it rayned every daie or nyght tyll the third day of June, and in May it rayned xxx. houres continually wythout ceasyng whiche caused greate fluddes and did muche harme, so that corne sore fayled the next yere as you shall perceive hereafter.

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THIS tyme a bil was set up in London much contrary to the honor of the Cardinall, in the whiche the Cardinall was warned that he should not counsaile the king to mary his daughter in to Fraunce, for if he did, he should shewe hymselfe enemy to the kyng and the Realme, with many threatenyng wordes: this byl was delivered to the Cardinal by sir Thomas Seymer Maior of the citie, whiche thanked hym for the same, and made muche serche for the author of that bill, but he coulde not be founde, whiche sore displeased the Cardinal, and upon this occasion the last day of April at night he caused a great watche to be kept at Westminster and had there cart gonnes ready charged and caused diverse watches to be kept about London in Newington, s. Jones strete, Westminster, s. Gyles, Iseldon, and other places nere London, whiche watches were kept by gentelmen and their servauntes, with householders and all for feare of the Londoners because of this bill. When the citezens knew of this, they said that they marveiled why the Cardinal hated them so for they saied that if he mistrusted them, he loved not them, and where love is not, there is hatred, and they affirmed that they never entended no harme toward him, and mused of this chaunce, for if v. or vi. lewde persons had made *Alarme* in the citie, then had entred all these watchemen with there traine whiche might have spoiled the citie without cause, wherfore they muche murmured against the Cardinall and his undiscrete doinges.

Sonday the fyft daye of Maye was a solempne Masse songe at Grenewyche the Cardinall and the Archebyshop of Canterbury with x. prelates mitered beyng present, and there the Frenche Ambassadours, in the name of the Frenche kyng

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kyng there Master, sware to observe the peace and league concluded betwene them for the terme of two princes lives, and there openly the byshop of Terby gave to the kyng hartie thankes for the great favor he shewed to the kyng his master, in the tyme of his visitacion (as he called it) that is to wete when he was in prison, for he said the kyng by his mercy had conquered the whole hartes of the realme, which he could not do by strength, the Ambassadours also desired as you have harde, the mariage of the lady Mary for the duke of Orleance ii. sonne to the Frenche kyng. Some said she was mete for hymselfe: but many a man marveiled why she was denayed for the second sonne, seyng that in the x. yere of this kyng it was concluded that she should mary the Dolphyn being the first sonne: but this demaund was not concluded nor aunswered but deferred because of her tendre age, til another time. For the more enterteinyng of the Frenche Ambassadours the kyng caused a solempne Justes to be done by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Jernyngham, syr Anthony Broune, and Nicholas Harvy, the valiaunt esquier as chalengers: whiche were apareled in bases and bardes al of one suite, the right side was riche tyssue embaudered with a compasse or roundell of blacke velvet and in the compas a right hand holding a sworde, and about the sworde were pennes and peces of money of diverse coynes, all embrawdered, under the hand was embrawdered *Loialte*, and on that side of the bard was written in embraudery, *By pen, pain nor treasure, truth shall not be violated.* The other side of the bases and bardes were of clothe of golde and cloth of sylver. When these foure chalengers were tome to the tilt, then entered the Marques of Excester and xiii. with hym al armed and barded and based of one suit: that is to saie, the right sides cloth of golde cut in cloudes engrayled with damaske gold, the other side cloth of sylver set with mountaynes full of Olyve braunches, made of gold all movyng. These men of armes ranne many a faire course with littell missyng, for within twoo houres and a halfe, notwithstandyng that it rayned apace, they brake iii. hundreth speres at the least, and when nyght approched they disarmed and went to the courte.

The kyng against that night had caused a banket house to bee made on the one syde of the tylt yarde at Grene-

wyche

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wyche of an hundreth foote of length and xxx. foote bredth, the roofe was purple cloth full of roses and Pomgarnettes, the wyndowes, were al clere stories with currious monneles strangely wrought, the Jawe peces and crestes were karved with Vinettes and trailes of savage worke, and richely gilted with gold and Byse, thys woorke corbolyng bare the candle-styckes of antyke woorke whiche bare litle torchettes of white waxe, these candelstickes were polished lyke Aumbre : at the one syde was a haute place for herawldes and minstrelles : this house was richely hanged and therin was raised a cupbord of seven stages high and xiii. foote long, set with standyng cuppes Bolles, Flaggons and greate pottes all of fyne golde : some garnyshed with one stone and some with other stones and perles, on the other side was a nother cupbord of ix. stages high, set full of high pottes flagons and bolles, all was massy plate of silver and gilte, so high and so brode that it was marvaile to beholde : at the nether ende were twoo broade arches upon thre Antike pillers all of gold burnished swaged and graven full of Gargills and Serpentes, supportyng the edifices the Arches were vawted with Armorie, al of Bice and golde, and above the Arches were made many sondri Antikes and divises : In this chamber was thre ewry bordes, one for the kynge, another for the quene, and the third for the princes : the fyrst bourde had ix. greate ewers, and basins all gilt, and playne, the seconde bourde had seaven greate gilt basins chased, and thre paire of covered basyns, chased all gilt with Cuppes of assaie, they were so greate that every Lorde grudged to beare theim, the third ewery had ix. basins and two payre of coveryd Basines and cuppes of assaie, thys ewery was all of gold, and the Basins were so massye that thei troubled sore the bearers : The hole supper was served in vessel of gold : to reherse the fare, the straungenes of dishes, wyth devises of beastes and fowles it were to long, wherefore I will let passe over the supper with songes and minstrelsie. When supper was done, the kyng, the quene and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure and then thei rose and went out of the banket chambre bi the forsaied Arches, and when they were betwene the uttermoste dore and the Arches the kyng caused them to turne backe and loke on that syde of the Arches, and there they sawe how Tyrwin was beseged, and the very maner of every

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every mans camp, very connyngly wrought, whiche woorke more pleased them then the remembryng of the thyng in dede. From thens they passed by a long galerie richely hanged into a chambre faire and large, the dores whereof was made with masonrie, embatailed with Jasper, and within that a porche with a tipe, and crokettes gilt, thys chambre was raised with stages v. degrees on every syde, and rayled and countrerailed borne by pillars of Azure, full of starres and flower delice of gold, every pillar had at the toppe a basin silver, wherein stode greate braunches of white waxe, the degrees wer al of Marble couler, and the railes like white marble: in the middest of this Chamber, was a gate, the Arches whereof stretched from side to side, this Arche was figured masonrie on water tables with haunses receivyng pillers wrapped, beyng Dormants Antike, and over the gate stode the pictures of Hercules, Scipio, Julius, Pompei, and such other conquererours, the ventes and embowes wer of very strange worke, with leaves, balles, and other garnishinges, al gold, and in the hole arche was nothing but fine Bice and gold, the rofe of thys chambre was conningly made by the kynges Astronimer, for on the grounde of the rofe, was made the hole earth envirded with the Sea, like a very Mappe or Carte, and by a conning makyng of a nother cloth, the zodiacke with the xii. Signes, and the five circles or girdelles and the two poles apered on the earth and water compassyng the same, and in the zodiak were the twelve signes, curiously made, and above this were made the seven planettes, as Mars, Jupiter, Sol, Mercurius, Venus, Saturnus, and Luna, every one in their proper houses, made according to their properties, that it was a connyng thing and a pleasant fyght to beholde.

When the kyng and the quene, were set under their clothes of estate which were rich and goodly, and the ambassadours set on the righte side of the chambre, then entred a person clothed in cloth of golde, and over that a mantell of blew silke, ful of eyes of golde, and over his head a cap of gold, with a garland of Laurell set with beries of fyne gold, this person made a solempne Oracion, in the Latin tongue, declaring what Joye was to the people of both the realmes of England and Fraunce, to here and knowe the great love, league, and amitie, that was betwene the two kynges of the same Realmes, gevyng greate prayse to

An Oracion.

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to the kyng of England for graunting of peace, and also to the Frenche kyng for suyng, for the same, and also to the Cardinal for beyng a mediator in the same: and when he had doen, then entred eight of the kinges Chappel with a song and brought with theim one richly appareled: and in likewyse at the other side, entred eight other of the saied Chappel bringyng with theim a nother persone likewise appareled, these two persones plaied a dialog theffect wherof was whether riches were better then love, and when they could not agre upon a conclusion, eche called in thre knightes, all armed, thre of theim woulde have entred the gate of the Arche in the middel of the chambre, and the other iii. resisted, and sodenly betwene the six knightes, out of the Arche fell doune a bar all gilte, at the whiche barre the six knightes fought a fair battail, and then thei were departed, and so went out of the place: then came in an olde man with a silver berd, and he concluded that love and riches, both be necessarie for princes (that is to saie) by love to be obeied and served, and with riches to rewarde his lovers and frendes, and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.

A dialogue.

The fight at barriars.

Then at the nether ende, by lettyng doune of a courtaine, apered a goodly mount, walled with towers and vamures al gilt, with all thinges necessarie for a fortresse, and all the mount was set full of Christall coralles, and rich rockes of rubie curiously conterfaited and full of roses and pomgranates as though they grewe: on this rocke sat eight Lordes appareled in cloth of Tissue and silver cut in quater foyles, the gold engrailed with silver, and the silver with gold, al loose on white satin, and on their heddes cappes of blacke velvet set with perle and stone, they had also mantelles of blake saten: and then they sodenly descended from the mounte and toke ladyes, and daunced divers daunces.

A rich mount.

Maskers.

Then out of a cave issued out the ladie Mary doughter to the kyng and with her seven ladies, all appareled after the romayne fashion in riche cloth of gold of tissue and Crimosin tinsel bendy and their heres wrapped in calles of golde with bonetes of Crimosin velvet on their heddes, set full of pearle and stone: these eight Ladies daunced with the eight Lordes of the mount, and as thei daunced, sodenly entred sixe personages, appareled in cloth of silver and blacke tinsell satin, and whodes on there heddes with tippetes of cloth of gold, there garmentes were long after the fashion of Iseland, and

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and these persones had visers with sylver berdes, so that they were not knowne: these Maskers tooke Ladies and daunced lustly about the place.

Then sodenly the kyng and the viscount of Torayne were conveighed out of the place into a chambre thereby, and there quicklie they ii. and six other in maskyng apparell of cloth of gold and purple tinsell sattin, greate, long, and large, after the Venicians fashion and over them great robes, and there faces were visard with beardes of gold: then with minstrelsie these viii. noble personages entred and daunced long with the ladies, and when they had daunced there fyll, then the quene plucked of the kynges visar, and so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lordes, and then all were knowen: then the kyng gave to the viscount of Torayn, the maskyng apparel that the kyng hym self ware and also the apparel that the viscount hymself masked in, which were very riche, for the which he thanked hym.

Then the kyng quene and the ambassadours, returned to the banket chamber, where thei found a banket ready set on the borde, of so many and marveilous dishes, that it was wonder to se, then the kyng sat doune and there was joy, myrth and melody: and after that all was doen the kyng and all other went to rest, for the night was spent, and the day even at the breakyng.

The morowe after the ambassadours toke there leave of the kyng, and had greate rewardes geven them and so came to London, and ther rested two dayes and so departed in hast homeward.

These two houses with Cupbordes, hanginges and all other thinges the kyng commaunded should stand still, for thre or foure daies, that al honest persones might see and beholde the houses and riches, and thether came a great nombre of people, to see and behold the riches and costely devices.

After that the ambassadours of Fraunce were departed the kyng sent an other ambassade into Fraunce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Boleyne knight, viscount of Rochforth, and Sir Anthony Broune knight, which came to Paris to the bishop of Bathe, whiche lay in Fraunce as ambassadour for the kyng of England, and then these thre went to the court and saw the Frenche kyng in persone swere to kepe the league and amitie concluded betwene hym and the kyng of Englande, and there they had greate chere and maskes shewed unto them, but

litle

litle rewardes were geven, and so the viscount Rochforth retorned into England, and so did the bishop of Bathe shortly after, leavyng sir Anthony Broune behind for a ligier.

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In this moneth of Maie the x. day the kyng sent sir Fraunces Poynes knight, as ambassadour from the kyng of England, to Charles themperor and with him he sent Clarenseaux, kyng of armes, to demaund the one halfe of the treasure and ordinaunce which was taken at Pavia, for so much as that war was made as well at the kynges charge, as at themperors charge: he demaunded also the duke of Orleaunce, to be delivered to him, and also it was demaunded that themperour should deliver the bishop of Rome which was taken this moneth as you shall here, and also should bring his armie out of Italy, and if he refused to do any of these poynctes, then Clarenseaux in the kynges name of Englande should make to him defiaunce.

An ambassad sent to themperour.

When it was knowen that warr was like to be betwene the Emperour and the kyng of England, the commons of Englande sore lamentyd the chaunce, for all marchandise were restrayned to passe in to any of themperours dominions, and the marchauntes wer desired by the Cardinall to kepe ther martes at Caleis, to the which in nowise thei would assent.

This same moneth the kyng sent two fayre shippes, well manned and vitailed, having in theim divers conning men, to seke strange regions: and so furth thei set, out of the Thamis, the twentie day of May, if they sped well you shall here at their retorne.

Shippes sent to seke straung Regions.

The xxii. day of May cam in post to the kyng out of Fraunce the bishop of Tarbie, whiche was here in the beginnyng of this moneth, this bishop brought to the kyng of England, the articles which the Frenche kyng now offered to the Emperour, which wer contrarie to the articles sworne at Madryll in the xvii. yere of the kyng, and farther he moved the kyng of Englande to be enemy to themperour, which request (as all men say) was muche furtherd by the Cardinall, because of the warre in Italie, betwene the Pope and themperour: this bishop made short tariyng with the kyng, for in post a gaine he returned to Paris, to sir Frances Poynes, and Clarenseaux, whiche taried ther for him, and so they all toke ther Jornay toward Spayne.

Now

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Now will I retorne to the duke of Burbon, and themperours armie, which al the last winter lived in great povertie, without clothes, victaile or wages, so that they were in maner desperat, and so went toward Parme and Bononie, belongyng to the Sea of Rome. The bishop of Rome hearyng this sent a messenger to the duke to redeme the Popes townes, so that they shoulde not be spoyled nor hurte: the duke and the capitaine axed thre hundreth and fiftie thowsand Ducates, for savyng of the Popes land, and if thei might have so much money, thei would depart to Napels: but when thei sawe that thei coulde have no money, they with all spede turned toward Florence the xxii. of Aprill, whereof hearyng the Romaines thei wer glad, for thei thought that the Florentines would hold good war with them, and than the Pope and the Romaines woulde geve the lokyng on: but the chaunse turned, as you shall here after.

For a suertie the duke of Burbon thought to have gon to Florence for this cause, for ther was a gentleman in Florence called Peter de salviata which had a brother that served themperor in his warres, whiche promised to deliver the citie, for he determined to cause the commons to rebell in the citie against the heddes, and in the meane season the dukes company shoulde scale the walles: when this Peter knew that themperours Armye was come to a place called Le Chase, within twelve myle of the Citie, to bryng his purpose to a conclusyon, he with suche as he had trayned to him, cryed in the Citie *libertate de populo*, that is in English Libertie of the people: with which voyce the people styrred and came to the Palace in great nomber, and there they tooke the vi. Lordes of the counsell which had the rule of the Publyke welthe of the Citie (as they call it) and slew one of them: The Familie of Medices, whiche wer the Popes kynred, were at this tyme sore a fraied. Thus this *Peter de Salviota*, with the Commons gate the Palace and rang the commen bell. In this season was in Florence a Capitayn of the Frenche kynges called *Frederico de Bodsoo*, he had with hym iii.C. men: and when he saw this rebellyon, he came to the Commons and sayde: Syrs, if you continew in this case, your fayre Citie is lyke to be subverted, for your enemyes be at hande: which notwithstandynge that you beare some favoure to themperour as appeareth, yet their needinesse

needinesse and povertie is soch, that without mercy thei wyll robbe, murder and sley you, your wyfes and chyldren, and sette fyer on your beautifull Citie.

This Capitayne moche steyed the Citie, notwithstandyng that xx. or more persones were sleyne in the ruffle, yet they were well avoyded, and sodeynly entered into the Citie the Duke of Urbyne, whiche lay but vi. myle from Florence, and xviii. myle from themperours armye whom he had coasted, but he thought no advantage to medle. This Duke brought with hym v.M. footemen, and vi.C. horsemen, and when he was entered the Citie, a crye was made that all thinges was pardoned, so that every man departed home and delyvered his weapon, whiche was dooen: and thus the Citie was appeased, the xxviii. day of Apryll.

All this doyng within the Citie was unknowne to themperours armye, for it was begonne and ended in iiii. or v. houres, and so for lacke of knowledge, this enterprise was lost, whiche was happye for the Florentynes. Sore displeased were themperours Capitaynes when they knewe of this chaunce, and also how the Duke of Urbyne was entered into the Citie of Florence for their defence, but they coulde not doo with all. And so shortly thei departed and came to the Citie of Seynes xxx. myle of and there they lost their great ordinaunce, and tooke counsell to go to Rome (notwithstandynge the trewce concluded betwene the Pope and the Viceroy of Napels, and Hugo de Moncada, as you have hearde) and so moche they traveyled by nyghtes and dayes, commenly passyng xl. myle, day and nyght (Their good wyll was suche) that the vi. daye of Maie, with banners displayed, they came before the Citie of Rome beynge saturdaye the same day: and sonday the Romaynes made Bulwarkes, Rampiers, and other defences, and layde ordynaunce on the walles, and shot at them without fearcely.

Rome assauted.

The Duke of Burbon determyned that it were not best to lye styll without, and be slayne with ordinaunce, consideryng that they were all naked people, and without great ordinaunce: wherfore he determined to take the chaunce and to geve the assaute, and so manfully they approched the walles betwene the Burgo novo and olde Rome. But the Romayns valiauntly defended them with handgunnes, pykes, stones, and other weapons, so that the enemyes were fayne to retreyte.

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retreyte. Then the Romaynes were glad, and sette many faire banners on their Towers and Bulwarkes, and made great showtes: Whiche seeynge the Duke of Burbon cryed to a new assaute. Then the Drumslades blew, and every man with a ladder mounted: and at the fyrst encounter, agayn the Romayns put them a litell backe: Which perceivyng, the duke of Burbon cryed: God and themperour. Then every man manfully sette on, there was a sore fyght, many an arrow shot, and many a man felled: but at the last the Emperours men gotte the wall: and betwene every assaute fell a myst, so that they within coulde not see what parte they without would assayle, which was profitable to themperours partie: At the three assautes were sleyne iii.C. Swyshes of the Popes Garde. In this last assaute was the Duke of Burbon stryken in the thygh with a handgonne, of the whiche he shortly dyed in a chapell of s. Syst, whyther his Souldiers had brought hym. And this chaunce notwithstandynge, the Armye entered into Rome, and toke the Popes Palace and set up themperours Armes. The same daye that these three assautes were made, Pope Clement passed lytell on the Emperours Armye: for he had accursed theim on the saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almaynes Lutheranes, and the Spaniards Murreynes or mores: and when he was hearyng of masse, sodeinly the Almaynes entered the Churche, and slew his Garde and dyverse other. He seeyng that, fled in all haste by a prevye way to the Castell s. Angell: and al they that folowed hym that way and coulde not entre, were sleyne, and yf he in that fury had ben taken, he had ben sleyne. The Cardinals and other prelates fled to the castel of s. Angel, over the bridge, where many of the commen people were overpressed and drowned as they gave way to the Cardinalles and other estates that passed towarde the castell for succour.

The Duke of Burbon sleyn.

Curse of the Pope.

The Cardinall of Senes, of Sesaryne, of Tudertine, of Jacobace and of the Valle, taryed so long, that they coulde not get to the castell for multitude of people: wherfore they were compelled to take a nother house, called the Palace of s. George, where they kepte theym selfe for a whyle, as secretely as they might. You must understand, that thorough the Citie of Rome, ronneth a famouse Ryver, called Tyber: and on the one syde of the Ryver standeth the Castell s. Angell, or the Borough of s. Angell: and the other side is called

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called Burgo Novo, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called, the Brydge of Syxte, whiche lyeth directly before the Castell. At the ende of this Brydge was a wonderous strong Bulwarke, well Ordinaunced and well manned. The Emperours men saw that they coulde do nothynge to the Pope nor to that porte of the Citie but by the bridge, determyned to assaute the Bulwarke: and so as men without feare, came on the bridge: and the Romayns so well defended them, that they slew almost iiii.M. men. That seyng the Prince of Orenge, and the Marques of Gnasto, with all spede gave assaute, and notwithstandyng that the Romaynes shot great ordinaunces, handgonnes quarrels, and all that might be shot: yet the Imperiall persones never shranke, but manly entered the Bulwarke and slew and threw downe out at the loupes all the Romains that they found, and after rased the bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Castell Angell and behelde this fyght, and with him were xxiii. Cardinalles, of whiche one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche was slayne, and with hym were a M. Prelates and Priestes, v.C. gentlemen, v.C. souldyers: wherfore immediatly the Capitayns determined to ley Siege to the Castell of Angell, lest they within might issue out and turne theym to dammage: wherfore sodeinly a Siege was planted rounde about the Castell. In the meane season the souldyers fell to spoyle, never was Rome so pylled neither of the Gotes, nor Vandales, for the souldiers were not content with the spoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake up the houses of close religious persones, and overthrew the cloysters and spoyled virgins, and ravyshed maryed women: Men wer tormented if they had not to geve every new asker or demaunder: some wer strangeled, some wer punyshed by the pryvey members, to cause them to confesse their treasure. This woodnesse continued a great whyle, and some man myght thynke that when they had gotten so moche, then they would ceasse and be quyet, but that was not so, for they played continually at dyce, some v.C. some a M. ducates at a cast: and he that came to play laden with plate, went away again almost naked, and then fel to ryfelyng agayne. Many of the Citizens whiche coulde not paciently suffre that vexacion, drowned themselves in Tiber: The souldiers daily that ley at the siege,

Rome spoiled.

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siege, made Jestes of the Pope, sometyme they had one ridynge lyke the Pope with a whore behynde hym, sometyme he blessed, and sometyme he cursed, and sometyme they woulde with one voyce call him Antechrist. And they went about to undermynde the Castell, and to have throwen it downe on his head, but the water that environeth the castell disapoynted their purpose. In this season the Duke of Urbyne with xv.M. men came to ayde the Pope: but hearyng that Rome was taken he taried xl. myle from Rome tyl he heard other word. The Marques of Saluce, and sir Frederico de Bodso with xv.M. footemen and a M. horsemen wer at Vitarbe the x. day of Maye. Where thei hering that the citie of Rome was taken also taried: the Cardinal of Colume came with an army of Neapolitans to helpe themperours men: but when he saw the crueltie of the souldiers, he dyd lytle to helpe them, but he hated them moch.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged tyl the viii. ides of Juli, at which day he yelded him selfe for necessitie and penury of al thinges in the castell. And then he was restored to geve Graces and graunte Bulles as he dyd before: but he taryed styll in the Castell saynt Angell, and had a great nombre of Almaynes and Spanyardes to keepe hym: But the Spanyardes bare most rule in the Castell, for no man entered nor came out of the Castell but by theim. When the moneth of July came, corne began to fayle in Rome, and the pestilence beganne to waxe strong: wherfore the great Army removed to a place called Narvya, xl. mile from Rome, leavyng behynde them suche as kepte the bysshop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyardes never were contented tyll they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Castell of s. Angell, and so they had the whole custodye of the Pope. Thus Rome continued in peace tyll Septembre, tyll the Armye came agayne from Narvya: for then the Almanyes sware, that they woulde set the Citie and all on fyer, excepte the Pope woulde pay them their full wages.

The bisshop of Rome was sumwhat astonyed, and sent to commen with them, onely two Archebisshops and two Bysshops and two Gentlemen: These syxe persones, the Almayns tooke as pledges, contrarye to the Popes meanyng, and sayde they would keepe them there tyll they were payed,

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payed, and so to put them in a strong chaumbre, in the Palace of s. George: and every day almost they woulde bryng them furth openly, and scolde and chyde with theim, and make them beleve that they woulde hang them if they were not payed. And so they kepte them emprisoned in a chaumbre and xxiiii. watched every nyght without the chaumbre dore, and xiiii. all day lykewyse: and yet for all that watche, they got out at a chymney, on saynte Andrewes eve, and were no more seene of theim.

An Escape.

This escape was sooner knowen of the Spanyardes that kepte the Pope, then of the Almaynes that watched the dore. The Almaynes were so woode with this chaunce, that thei came to the Prince of Orenge their generall Capitayne, and demaunded money of hym, in suche rigoriouse manier, that he was fayne secretely to flee to Senes: and then for hym they chose Capitayne, the Marques of Gnasto, whiche governed theim tyll February, that he brought theim to Napels.

Aboute the xxviii. daye of Maye, there were letters brought to the Kyng of Englande from the Frenche kyng, of parte of this troble: but sonday, the second day of June, the Kyng receyved letters at the Castel of Wyndsore, by the whiche he perceyved all the ordre and manier of the sackyng of Rome, and taking of the Pope, in manier and forme as you have hearde: Wherfore the Kyng was sorye, and so were many Prelates: but the Comminaltie lytle mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a ruffyan, and was not meete for the roume: wherfore they sayde that he beganne the myschief, and so he was well served. But the Cardynall which tooke this matter highly, called to hym the Prelates and the Clergy, and muche mourned the fall of the bysshop of Rome, and saw how the people grudged agaynste the Spiritualtie, for their greate Pride, Pompe, and yll lyvyng: Wherfore he came to the Kyng, and sayde: Sir by the onely callyng of God, you be made Defendor of the Christian faith: Nowe consydre in what state the Churche of Christe standeth: See howe the head of the Churche of Rome is in captivitie: See how the holy fathers be brought into thraldome, and be without comfort: now shewe your selfe an aide, a defendour of the Church, and god shall reward you.

The kyng answered, my Lorde, I more lament this evell chaunce

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chaunce then my toungue can tell, but where you say that I am defendor of the faith, I assure you, that this war betwene the Emperor and the Pope, is not for the faith but for temporal possessions and dominions, and now sith bishop Clement is taken by men of war, what should I doo? my person nor my people cannot him reskue, but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you semeth most convenient: for the which offer the Cardinall thanked the kyng on his knee, and there uppon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kynges treasure xii. score thousande pounde, which he caried over the Sea with him, as you shal heare after.

The kynges answer.

The threasor gathered.

Then the Cardinal sent commissions, as legate to al bishoppes, commaundyng that they should cause in every parish Churche, solempne processions to be made for the relevyng of the Pope, and moved the people to fast iii. daies in the weke, but few men fasted, for the priestes saied, that their commaundement was, to exhorte the lay people to fast and not to fast them selfes: and the lay people saied, that the priestes should first fast, because the verie cause of the fastyng, was for a priest, but none of bothe almoste fasted.

praier and fastyng.

This season began a fame in London that the kinges confessor, beyng bishop of Lyncolne, called doctor Longland, and diverse other great Clarkes had told the kyng that the mariage betwene him and the Lady Katheryn, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable and the kyng there upon should mary the dutches of Alanson, sister to the French kyng at the toune of Caleis this sommer, and that the viscount Rochforth had brought with him the picture of the saied Lady, and that at his retorne out of Fraunce the Cardinal should passe the Sea to go into Fraunce, to fetch her.

This rumor sprang so much, that the kyng sent for sir Thomas Seimer maior of London and straightly charged him to se that the people should sease of this communicacion, upon payne of the kynges high displeasure.

But whatsoever the Commons talked, it was concluded by the kyng and his counsaill, that the Cardinall should passe into Fraunce, as his high ambassadour, but for what cause no persone knewe but the king til his retorne.

Then was much preparacion made at Caleis, for the receavyng of the Cardinall, but the common saiyng was that

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that the kyng would come to Caleis and meet with the Frenche kyng, and for that cause such preparacion was made, but he came not there at al, and alwaies the people commoned as they durst of the kynges mariage.

The Cardinal rideth towarde Fraunce.

The iii. day of July, the Cardinall of Yorke, passed thorough the citie of London, accompaigned with many Lordes and Gentlemen, to the nombre of twelve hundreth horse, towarde the Sea side, and at Cauntorburie he rested, and there to the people declared the destruccion of Rome, and howe the Pope was in captivitie with many Cardinalles: wherfore he caused a Letany to be song by the monkes of Christes Church, after this maner, *S. Maria, ora pro Clemente papa, S. Petri ora pro Clemente papa.* and so furth al the letany: then he exhorted the people to fast and pray for his deliveraunce which few did.

A new fonde Letany.

The xi. day of Maye, the Cardinall with al his traine, toke shipping at Dover, and the same day landed at Caleis, wher he was received with procession, and with the hole garrison of the towne.

Barelles of gold.

When the Cardinal was landed, there were set on lande xvi. barrelles al ful of gold of the kynges money, which wer delivered to the capitain of the castel in charge: of this money the people muche grudged, and saied this money shalbe spent out of the realme, and yet Englishemen shal have no parte nor proffit of it, but only it shal be spent for the Cardinalles pleasure and the Frenche kynges, and the Popes proffite.

The Marte to be kept at Calice.

The Cardinal was so sore displeased with the Emperour for kepyng the Pope in pryson (although it wer agaynst his wil and knowlege) that he imagened al the wayes and meanes possible how to hurte and dommage themperour and therfore he sent for thenglish marchauntes, willing them to kepe the marte at Caleys, but thei answered, that the towne of Caleis, was a towne of warre, and al marchauntes must have libertie at all houres of the night, in the marte season, whiche they coulde not have at Caleis: also the haven is not able to receive greate Hulkes, and Carikes that come to a marte: but some merchauntes to please the Cardinall, brought their clothes to Caleis, and so caused ther frendes of Andwarpe to come to Caleis, and to say, that thei had bought the marchauntes clothes, and ther at Caleis paied the custome, and so caried them, to the towne of

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of Andwarp at thenglish mennes charge, and ther sold them to the great losse of thenglishmen.

While the Cardinall lay in Caleis, the Frenche men daily resorted to Calleis, to welcome the Cardinall, and sodenly there upon a noyse sprang that Calleis should be delivered, to the Frenche kyng, whiche vayne saiyng, made many men muse.

But the xxii. day of Juli, the Cardinall departed oute of Calleis, and with hym was the lorde Cuthberd Tunstal bishop of London, the Lorde Sandes, Chamberlayn to the kyng, the Earle of Darby, sir Henry Guildforde, sir Thomas More, with many knightes and squyres, to the numbre of xii. C. horse and in the cariages lxxx. Wagons, and lx. moyles and sumpter horses and at Sandifelde, met with him the countie Brian governour of Picardie, and Monsir de Bees, capitaine of Bullein, with iiii. C. men of armes, well appareiled, with banners displaied and al well horsed, which with trumpets and melodie received the Cardinal, and at Marguison there met hym the Cardinall of Lorayn, and vi. bishoppes, and xl. gentlemen, wel furnished, and in their company iiii. C. horse, and so they rode furthe to Bullein where the burgesses them received.

The receaving of the Cardinall to Boleyne.

And at the gate was made a pageaunte in the whiche was a Nonne called holy churche, and thre Spaniardes and thre Almanynes had her violated, and a Cardinall her reskued, and set her up of newe agayne.

Another Pageaunte, was a Cardinall gevyng a Paxe to the Kyng of England and the French kyng, in token of peace, a nother Pageant was the Pope, liyng under, and the Emperour sittyng in his Majestie, and a Cardinall pulled downe the Emperoure, and set up the Pope.

When wise men sawe this Pagiaunt, thei smiled and saied, well, can the Frenche kyng flatter, for harde it were for one Cardinall to subdue him that hath pulled downe the master of all Cardinalles.

Many wordes wer spoken in reprove of this pageaunt, but stil with great triumph rode these ii. Cardinalls together, to the Abbey under a Canapie borne over them, and there lodged.

The morow beyng the thre and twentie day he with al his traine removed toward Muttrel, and ii. mile without the towne ther met with him the bailies, ther to him was made

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a solempne oracion, and when he came to the towne he was received with the Clergie, and ther the Englishmen had strayt lodging, the nombre was so great, and so the morowe he removed toward Abbevil wher he was received of the Baylife and advocates of the towne, and then of the garison of men of warre of the towne, and there was he received with procession, and Pageauntes to his praise under a Canapie, and so brought to the Church, and after to his lodging, and al the Canapies were set with *T C* for Thomas Cardinal, and so were all his servauntes cotes.

The third day of August in the Citie of Amias, came the Frenche kyng in a cote of blacke Velvet upon white Satin, and tied with laces agglated with golde, and with him, the kyng of Naver, and the Cardinall of Burbon, the greate master, the Duke of Vandosme, Monsir de Guise, and Monsir Vaudemount his brother, and the Frenche kynges mother, with many Lordes and Ladies, which were there solemplie received.

And on Sonday the iiii. daie of August, the Cardinal came from Pickqueny toward Amias, in which towne he lay the night before, and in the way he was received with the provost of the Citie, and many honorable personages of the citie, and after them came the Justices and advocates and with an eloquent oracion saluted him, and when he was with in halfe a myle of the towne, the Frenche kyng hym selfe with all his Nobles mette with him, and lovinglie embraced him, and welcommed hym and after toke all the Nobles of England, by the hand, and so brought the saied Cardinall to Amias: where for hym were devysed many Pagiauntes, to his prayse, and ever he was called *Cardinalis pacificus* the Cardinall pacifique, and so was writen at the gate of his lodging.

The Frenche kyng brought the Cardinal to his lodgyng, and he would have brought the kyng to his Courte agayne, but he would in nowise suffre him, but left him in his lodgyng, and the same night the Cardinall rode to visit the Frenche kynges mother, and there he had long communicacion and so departed to his lodgyng.

The v. day of August the Cardinall with the great estates of Fraunce was conveighed to the ffrenche kynges Courte, where he was received of the Frenche kynges garde, and in the first Chambre he was received of Knightes and gentlemen, In the secound Chambre, of Earls Barons and bishoppes. In

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In the third of Ladies, in which chambre the kynge lay on a bed, and his mother sate by him, because he had a sore Legg. Then the Cardinal shewed his commission, which was very large, and in that was none but he alone: the Bishop of London and the Lorde Sandes, were in another commission, but that was not shewed than, nor they called to counsail. There was the Cardinall highly thanked of the greate love that he bare to the house of Fraunce: Then he and the French Lordes fell to counsail, fyrst concernyng the Articles of peace, and for the suerty of performaunce of the same, and so that day they sat foure houres, and so every day was the Cardinall in Counsaile with the Frenche kynges Counsaile, tyll the xviii. daye of August, at whyche daye was made in the Cathedrall Churche of Amies, for the Cardinall of Englande a place on the North side of the Churche for hys Travers, and directly in the middes of the quere was a curious chappell wroughte of carved wood al gilt set for the Frenche kyng and his mother, which was covered wyth Crimosyn velvet, richely embrodered and hanged wyth clothes of Antike makyng, set with pearle and stone, very curiously: The Masse was song, by a Cardinal, and after Masse, the French kyng and divers of his Lordes, wer sworne to kepe the league, and then was a great Charter sealed on the high aultare, and dilivered to the Cardinal by the kinges awne hand, and then the Cardinal of England gave to theim all (as he saied clere remission) and then was *Te deum* song, and so they all departed.

Now will I leave the Cardinall styll at Amias in counsaill, and retorne to Sir Fraunces Poynes, and Clarenceaux which ware at this tyme arrived in Spaine, in the towne of Vale Dolife the third day of July, where thei found Doctor Lee the kynges Almoner there ambassadour for the kyng of Englande, and with hym taried till the sixte day of July, and then Sir Fraunces Poynes was brought to his presence, and delivered the kyng his masters letter, and beside that praied his Majestie to consider what the king of England had doen for hym sence his tendre age, how that he holpe him at all times with money and treasure, and howe that at suche tyme as the Lordes of Spayne would not receive him as there kyng duryng his mothers life, yet by the kynges meane and hys greate labour and cost, he was to that Realme received: And also howe the kyng of England had alwaies defended

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defended and protected the contreys of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, against all persones, and in the quarel of themperoure he had strongly invaded the Realme of Fraunce so that by his invasion at home, themperour had obteyned great victorie in forein places, which he could not have done, if al the whole realme of Fraunce had ben without any enemies at home : wherefore the kyng desired him as reason would, the one halfe of the profite of the battail of Pavy and also for his parte he required the duke of Orleaunce to bee delyvered to him, and also to paie to the king, fourtie thousand pownd, which he ought to him as money lent, towardes his charges : and farther that he should deliver the Pope, and make him a reasonable amendes, and no farther to make warre on him or his dominions. The Emperor after this demaunde, answered, sir we assure you that the love of our uncle of England, toward us and the manyfolde benefites that we have received by him and his meanes we shal never forget, and althoughe oure power be not able to recompence the same, yet our good wil shall never fayle, to endever us to do him pleasure: and as concerning his letters we with oure counsayle shal take advice, and we trust you shall have a reasonable answere, duryng which time, you may repose you, and althinges necessarie shalbe at your commaundement : with this answer, Sir Fraunces departed at this tyme. When it was knowen in Spain, that the kyng of England was alied with the Frenche kyng, the Spanyardes spake largely and said that thei cared not for the king of England, and said farther that all this was the dryft of the Cardynall, and by reason hereof the Englishe marchauntes wer evyl entertained in Spain, but the Emperour perceivyng this, gave a generall commaundement, that al Englyshmen shoulde be ordered and reputed as his loving frendes.

Themperours answere.

In this very moneth, tidinges was brought to the Emperour, how the inhabitauntes of Turney conspired to destroy Monsire Delanoies their Capitayn, and devised to bid him to a banket, and so to sley him and al that loved the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowlege of this treason, and toke the chiefe Capitaynes, and dyd on them sharpe execucyon, for feare whereof many fled into Fraunce.

The Emperor within a day or twayne called to him Doctor Lee,

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Lee, and Syr Fraunces Poynes the kyng of Englands Ambassadors, and sayed: my lordes, we have perceived the king your maisters requestes, which be great and of a waightie Importaunce, wherfore we entend wyth al spede to wryte to the kyng our uncle, and when we have received answere from him, we shal delyver you of suche thinges as you demaunde, praiyng in the meane season, to take pacience, and so for the tyme they departed.

By this tyme was it knowen that the Cardinall of England was wyth the French kyng, and ful wel knew the Emperour that the Cardinal woulde do all for to ayde the Frenche kynge and to domage hym yet had he a great pencion of the Emperour.

The Englyshe Marchauntes fearynge the sequele of this matter, conveighed away their goodes daily out of the Emperors dominions, but still the Englyshe Ambassadours came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour sayed to them, my lordes, I marvell howe the kyng my uncle is moved agaynste me and my subjectes, I assure you I wil no war with him, I truste in hys faythfull promes, and his accustomed goodnes, and his people I take as my frendes. If he love the Frenche kyng I may not so do, for he to me is untrue and kepeth no just promyse, and we never compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his owne mocion, and he also sworne to mainteine the same, which he now refuseth, and to our great prejudice hath perswaded against us our dere uncle of England by pervers Imaginacions, which I trust wyll never be our enemy. This many times the Emperor would comen with the Englyshe Ambassadors whiche lay in Spayne.

But now must I returne to the Cardinal of England which lay at Amyas: there was great counsayling from day to day: First, how the Pope should be delivered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quietnes: Secondarily, how to bryng the Emperor to some reasonable agrement so that the French kynges chyldren might be delivered. It was well consydered that the Emperor had a great fordel by reason of the sayde ii. hostages, which fordel might perchaunce so stomacke him that he wold agre to no new condicions nor agremente. Then it was answered on the othersyde that yf a great army were sent into Italy whych might drive the Emperors power out of Italy, then that army should set the Pope at libertie and

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and also dryve themperor to come to their purpose, or els he should lese both the realmes of Napels and Scicille, and the duchy of Millayn and other dominions, wherefore the French kyng determined to send an army royal into Italy, under the conduict of Mounsire Odyt de Lawtryck erle of Foys, which was appointed afore in June to go to the borders of Italy with a smal nombre, but now to him was assigned viii. M. Bretons wyth notable capitaines of the same countrey and viii. M. Normans wyth like capitaynes, and viii. M. Gascoines, and vi. M. Burgonions iii. M. Savosyns viii. M. Swyches and Almaines, and vi. M. Picardes, of which men were v. M. horsemen under the conduict of Mounsire Galias, and in thys army were syr Robert Jernyngham and Jhon Carew of Hakam, and lxxx. other English gentlemen, which were sent thyther by the Cardinall from Amias. When thys army was assembled, the Cardinall delivered the kyng of Englandes money, that he had broughte out of England in barrels as you have heard, wyth which money was this army paied two monethes before hand, and the remnaunt was delivered to sir Robert Jerningham which was called treasorer of the warres. In this army were iii. M. cariage men, and adventurers iiii. thousand, so that when they were over the mountaynes they were lix. M. men, and som writers say C. thousand. This army was called in Latin *Exercitus Angliæ et Gallorum Regum, pro Pontificio Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to say, the armye of the kynges of Englande and Fraunce gathered for the delyveraunce of the byshoppe of Rome, and so was thys armye reputed. Although few people knewe at the beginninge in Englande of the conveiynge of the moneye over the sea, yet when the Englysh coyne was the common payment of the armie, it was then openly knowen: then many men sayde alas, so much money spent out of the realme, and of this charge the realme shall not be one peny the better, the kynge hathe had of us a loane and that is not payde, and the great subsedy was graunted to make the kyng riche and now is that money to helpe our old enemies, and the Pope which never shall do us good, this the people spake and muche worse. While the Cardinal was wyth the Frenche kyng, the Pope sent to him a bul, and made him Vicar general under him through all the kyng of Englandes dominions, and there by a bull he created Anthony

English money delivered.

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Anthony de Prato bishop of Sens and Chauncelor to the French kyng a Cardinall wyth great solempnitie. The Cardinall for hys solace rode with the French kynge to Compeygne and Mountdedier, and was ever highly feasted of the kyng and hys mother and of the Chauncellour of Fraunce, and of al the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinal and the Frenche kynges counsayll what articles of offer should be sent to the Emperor, which yf he refused, then open defyaunce to be made to him in the name of both the kynges: The proffers were these.

¶ First that the French kyng shoulde paye for his raunsome xxv. M. crounes, which amounteth to v. M. pounde sterlynge, one wryter calleth it two Millions of Crounes.

The second to release al the pencion that he had in Napels with al the ryght of the same.

The third, that he should never clayme title to the Duchy of Millain.

The iiii. that he should release the superioritie of Flaunders for ever and the ryght that he had to the citie of Turnay.

The v. to release al the homages of al other persones wythin the sayd countreyes.

The vi. to wythdrawe hys army out of Italy.

The vii. to forsake the ayde of the Swyches against the Emperour.

The viii. to take no more the part of Robert de la Marche against the Emperor.

The ix. never to ayde the kyng of Naverne against hym, although he had maried the kynges sister.

The x. never to ayd the duke of Gelder nor to chalenge the same duchy.

The xi. to ayde the Emperor wyth shippes and men to hys coronacion.

The xii. to mary ladye Elianor the quene of Portingale syster to the Emperor.

The xiii. that the Dolphyn should mary the sayd quenes daughter.

The xiiii. that yf the French kyng had any children male by the sayde quene, then the duchy of Burgoyne to remayne to the sayd child being a male.

The xv. that the French kyng should be frende to the Emperor and his frendes and enemy to his enemies.

These with many other articles which wer not openly knowen

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knowen wer sent to the bishop of Tarby and the Vicount of Thorayn ambassadors to the Emperor from the French kyng. And other articles wer sent to the kynge of Englandes ambassadors beyng in Spayne: firste to move the Emperor to take a reasonable peace wyth the French kyng.

Also that the kyng of England would release to him all the sommes of money due to him aswel by themperor Maximilian his graundfather as by hym selfe, and take the French kyng as detter for the same.

Item yf the Emperor would not therto agre, then the French king should mary the lady Mary doughter to the king of England and thei both to be enemies to the Emperor.

When all these thinges wer concluded, the Cardinal toke his leave of the French kyng and his mother (which tolde hym that a noble ambassade shoulde be shortly sent again into Englande from the realme of Fraunce for fortefiynge of all conclusyons) and so the sayde Cardynall wyth great rewardes returned wyth al his trayne and by jorneys the last day of September, he came to Rychmond to the king of England and there assertayned the kyng of all his doynges, but so could no lord that then was in Commission with him, for they knew nothing of all his doynges, whiche sore greved their stomackes.

The Cardinal which much rejoysed in this peace, came the first day of the terme into the starre chamber and there by his commaundement wer presente the lordes spirituall and temporall of the kinges counsaill, and the Maior and Aldermen of the citie of London, and the judges of the law and al the Justices of peace of al shyres then beynge at Westmynster. And then he sayd, how much is the realme of Englande bounde to God for the hygh peace that now is concluded? A hygh peace, yea such a peace as was never concluded betwene no realm, for by my labor and industry I have knit the realmes of Englande and Fraunce in suche a perfyt knot, that it shall never fayle, for the thre estates of Fraunce (which here we cal a Parliament) have affirmed the same, and therfore now my lordes be mery, for the king shal nevermore charge you with warres in Fraunce, nor the Mayer and other marchauntes shal never be charged farther wyth expences, so that wyth exaccyons for warres of Fraunce you shall no more be charged, for the kynge shal have no nede,

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nede, because that he by this league shalbe the rychest prince of the world, for I assure you he shall have more treasur out of Fraunce yerely then al his revenewes and customes amount to, yea and count his wardes, forfeytes and all such casualties. Now syth you have such an honorable peace and suche a profitable peace, how much be you bound to him which hath brought this peace aboute, for this is a peace *in secula seculorum.* And because thys peace is so noble, it is sealed wyth a seale of golde, and so he caused all there present to looke on the seale, which was the verye greate seale of Fraunce, printed in fine gold: at this tale many a man after laughed to thinke how the Cardinall lyed, for they knew, that he sayd was for his owne glory, and nothing should folowe as he sayd.

The Frenche kynge accordinge to his appoyntment sent the lorde Annas of Momorancy great mayster of his house and after that hygh Constable of Fraunce, and the bishop of Bayon, the chiefe president of Roan and Mounsire de Hunyers, as his Ambassadors to the kyng of England accompanyed with lx. gentlemen wel appointed, whiche the xiiii. day of October landed at Dover, whose servauntes demeaned them selfes so passing through Kent, that much busynes was to lodge them in London, but the Cardinal commaunded corporacions of the citie to provide lodgyng for them, which was never sene before, wherat the people murmured sore, saiyng that the Cardinal was al Frenche. So on the xx. day of October, the sayd Ambassadors were met on black heth by the marques of Exceter, the bishop of London, the Vicount Rocheford and lord Mountjoy wyth many men of honor and gentlemen to the nomber of v. hundred horses and more. The Maior and Aldermen of the citie of London and the chiefe comminers on horsebacke in their gounes met the said Ambassadors at S. Georges bar, and there was made to them a solempne oracion, and so from thence they were conveied through London to the bishop of Londons palais, and ther and nere ther aboute thei wer wel lodged.

A present geven by the city to the French ambassadors.

The citezens of London presented them with v. fat oxen, xx. shepe, xii. Swannes, vii. cranes, xii. Fesantz, iiii. dosin Partriches, xx. loaves of Suger, Comfettes and other spyce and waxe, and viii. hoggesheades of wyne wyth many other thynges, whych I cannot reherse.

On Tewsday being the xxii. day of September, the said ambassadors

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ambassadors wer conveyed by water to Grenewiche, where before the kyng sitting under his clothe of estate, the forsayed Mounsire Bayon presydent of Roan made an eloquent proposicion, in the which he much thanked the kyng for sendynge so high an ambassador as the Cardinall was, a man of such prudence and wit, as it appeared by the knitinge of the league, that like to him could none be found, for by his onely mediacion, the ii. princes wer accorded so surely as never wer princes before that tyme, so that by this confederacion the pope and his cardinals which wer in captivitie and thraldome should by the power of these ii. princes be delivered and al the Emperors power should be clene banished and driven oute of Italy, and the Pope shoulde be restored to his olde estate and dignitie agayne.

When this Oracion was done and an answere made to the same, the kyng welcomed al the gentlemen of Fraunce, and then they had wyne and spyce brought to them, wherof they toke part and dranke and so departed to their barge. Dayly these ambassadors repayred to the cardinals place and ther wer highly entertained, and the morow after S. Simons day and Jude the bishop of Bayon and a great nomber of the French gentlemen dyned at the Maiors feast, and so they taryed in London til Alhalonday on which day the kyng accompanied with the Ambassadors of Fraunce and all his nobilitie rode to the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul, wher the Cardinall sang Masse, and after masse done, the people wer desired to pray that by their praiers Pope Clement might the soner be delivered out of captivitie: and when that was done the kynge of Englande before the aulter sware to kepe and performe the league. The common people sayd what nede al this swearyng, the French kyng was once sworne and al his nobilitie, yea and al hys good tounes, but yet they brake with us, and so wyl they agayne when they se an avauntage.

The French kyng knyght of the Garter.

For the more love to be engendered betwene these two princes it was concluded that the kyng of England should elect the French kyng knight of the noble order of the Garter, and that the French kyng should elect the kynge of Englande companion of his order of S. Michel, whyche eleccions passed on both parties. Wherefore in all spede the kynge sent sir Arthur Plantagenet Vicount Lisle and bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth, Doctor Tailor Maister

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Maister of the Rolles, sir Nicholas Carew knight maister of the kynges horses, and syr Anthony Broune knyght, and sir Thomas Wryothesley knyght beyng Garter kyng of armes of the order, with the whole habite coller and habilimentes of the ordre, which order he receyved on sonday the x. day of November in the citie of Paris and rode in the sayd habit from the house of S. Poule to our ladye churche and there heard a solempne masse, and dyned in his robe of the order, havyng wyth him thambassadors of England, and the same night he made to them a banket, and so the next day thei departed. In likewyse the selfe same sonday, the king at Grenewiche received the order of S. Michell by the handes of the great mayster of Fraunce and Mounsire Huniers compaignions of the sayd ordre: and they al there ware the mantles of the sayd order which were of cloth of silver embrodered with Fraunces knottes and kocle shelles, and the collor was of the same devise having hangynge before the brest the image of S. Michel, and in these Mantels they went doune to the chaple to Masse, and there heard masse, which was song by a bishop, and after masse they returned to the kynges chamber, wher was made a great feast, and after diner which was late they were conveyed into the tyltyard, and ther wer Justes of pleasure xii. against xii. whych valyauntly furnished their courses, til they had broken C. staves, and then they departed, for nyght was sodainlye come. Then the kyng brought the Ambassadors to the new banket chamber, which was hanged wyth a costly verdor al new, the ground therof was all gold and the flowers were all of Sattyn sylver so that by the brightsomenes of the gold, the flowers appeared so freshly that thei semed as they wer growyng in dede, the cupberdes of gold and gylt plate with the eweryes, the same I overpasse, because you have hearde thereof in the beginnyng of this yere. Then the king, quene and ambassadors satte doune to supper and were served with lxxxx. dishes, al the galleries and chambers were ful of lordes, knyghtes and gentlemen, and the garrates above ful of Frenche lackeys and verlettes, which wer plenteously served.

The kyng of England knight of the order of saint Michel.

The banquet house.

After supper was done, the king led the ambassadors into the great chamber of disguysinges, and in the ende of the same chamber was a fountayne, and on the one syde was a Hawthorne tre al of silke wyth white flowers, and on the other

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other syde of the fountayne was a Mulbery tre ful of fayre beryes all silke, on the toppe of the Hawthorne was the armes of England compassed with the coller of the garter of S. Michel, and in the toppe of the Moulberie tree stode the armes of Fraunce wythin a garter. This fountayn was al of whyte Marble graven and chased, the bases of the same were balles of golde supported by rampynge beastes wounde in leaves of golde. In the first worcke were gargilles of gold fiersly faced with spoutes running. The second receyt of this fountain was environed with wynged serpentes al of golde, which gryped the second receit of the fountain, and on the sommit or toppe of the same was a fayre lady, out of whose brestes ran aboundantly water of merveilous delicious saver. About this fountayn wer benches of Rosemary fretted in braydes layd on gold, all the sides sette wyth roses in braunches as they wer growyng about this fountayne. On the benches sat viii. fair ladies in straung attier, and so rychly apparelled in cloth of golde embrodered and cut over silver, that I cannot expresse the conning workmanship therof. Then when the kyng and quene were set, there was playd before them by children in the Latin tongue in maner of Tragedy, the effect wherof was that the pope was in captivitie and the church broughte under the foote, wherfore S. Peter appeared and put the Cardinal in authoritie to bryng the Pope to his libertie, and to set up the church agayn, and so the Cardinall made intercession to the kinges of England and of Fraunce, that they toke part together, and by their meanes the Pope was delyvered. Then in came the French kynges chyldren, and complayned to the Cardinal, how the Emperour kept them as hostages and wold not come to no reasonable point with their father, wherfore thei desyred the Cardinal to helpe for their deliveraunce, which wrought so wyth the kyng hys mayster and the French kyng that he brought the Emperor to a peace, and caused the two yong princes to be delyvered. At this play wisemen smiled and thought that it sounded more glorious to the Cardinall, then true to the matter in deede.

A play.

When the playe was done, and iiii. companies of maskers daunsed, the King, the great maister of Fraunce, the duke of Suffolke, the marques of Exceter, sir Edward Newel, and other thre apparelled in cloth of gold and purple Tynsyl sattyn set wyth cut warkes of clothe of sylver plyghted goord

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goord fret and folded eche cloth upon other, and one plucked under another verye rychely: they had also mantels of Crymosyn Sattyn cast about them Bauderike wyse, so that the other garmentes myght largely appeare, and then thei entered with noyse of minstrelsy and toke the ladies that sat about the fountayne and daunsed wyth them very lustely, and when they had daunsed ynough, then thei put of their vysers, and were knowen, and so wyth disport al this night passed.

The ambassadors departed.

The next day the greate maister and al his company toke their leave of the kyng (except the bishop of Bayon which abode as Ambassador in England) and were hyghly rewarded, and so passed to Dover, and toke shippe there and landed at Bulleyn.

After that the Frenchmen wer departed, the commons spake sore against the Cardinal and sayd, that the Frenchmen did never good to England, and for the Cardinals pleasure we should forsake our old frendes, and receive our olde enemies. When the Cardinal heard of these saynges he was not content, wherfore he sent a Commission to the Maior of London to commaunde al men not to talke of the kynges affaires and busynes or of the quene, or of the kynges counsail. And yf any person spake or talked of any of these matters, then he to be taken and brought to the Cardinal. When this commaundement was once knowen, every man mystrusted other, and noman durst breake his minde to other.

Arthur, Bilney Geffrey Lome and Garret.

In this moneth of November the Cardinal as legate called the whole clergie before him at Westminster and there he saide that all the abusions of the church should be amended, but he did nothinge therto, but abjured, Arthur, Bylney, Geffery Lome, and Garret that spake against the Popes aucthoritie and hys pompe and pryde.

A great derth of wheate.

By reason of the great raynes, which fel in the sowing time and in the beginning of the last yere, now in the beginning of thys yere corne began sore to fayle throughout the realme, in so muche that in the citie of London, bread for a whyle was very skant and people did starve daily for bread, for wheat so fayled that none could be gotten for money. Savyng that the king of his goodnes sent to the citie of his owne provysion vi.C. quarters, or els for a weeke ther had ben litle bread in London, yet was the scarcitie

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scarcitie more then the derth: For then wheat was only at xv.s. the quarter, and from thence it rose to xx.s and after to xxvi.s. viii.d. the quarter. Men sayd that the negligence was in sir Thomas Seimer knyght then Maior. Many substanciall men would have made provision for their houses, but they feared lest the comminaltie would have taken it from them. Then were commissions sente into all shires and commissioners appoynted to se what wheat was in the realme, and the commissioners ordered that no wheate should be conveyed out of one shire to another, which commaundement had lyke to have raysed trouble, and specially the citie of London with the same was sore agreved, for thei had no arable ground to sowe, but must make provision with money, which provision was them denied in diverse shires by that commaundement, wherat the citezens grudged, so the Maior and Aldermen seyng that the people began to murmure, came to the Cardinall and moved him of the mischiefe that was like to ensue: either the people must dye for famyne or els they wyth strong hand wil fetche corne from them that have it. To whom he answered that they should have wheat ynough out of Fraunce for the French kyng sayd to me quod the Cardinall that yf he had but three bushels of corne in all Fraunce, Englande shoulde have twayne so muche he loveth and regardeth this realme: with this answer thei departed and every day loked for French wheat, but none came: and farther such wheat as the Marchauntes of England had brought and shipped in Normandy, and other places wer ther restrained, so that the relefe ther failed, but the gentle marchauntes of the Styliard brought from Danske, Breme, Hambrough and other places great plentie, and so did other marchauntes from Flaunders, Holand and Frislande, so that wheat was better chepe in London, then in all England over. Then the people sayd, se how we had bene served by the Frenchmen in our necessitie if themperors subjectes had not holpen us. For this kindnes the common people loved themperor the better and al hys subjectes. The kyng of hys goodnes hearyng that the wheat in Fraunce was stopped, mused not a litle, and so for comfort of thys cyty of London he lent M. quarters, for the whych they both thanked him and prayed for hym. Then wythin short space the marchauntes of London so diligently made provysyon in all places for Wheat and Rye, that

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that after Christmas they lacked none, and al the parties adjoynyng to them wer fain to fetch wheate of them and none to them was denied, notwythstanding their unkynd commaundement geven that the Londoners should none have of them.

Now let us speake of the army that the lord Lawtrick had into Italy at the charges of the king of England and the Frenche king for the deliveraunce of pope Clement. The lord Lawtrick after that hys whole army was come to hym to Lions, and that al thynges necessary wer in redines, then he set forwarde wyth great diligence: but or he had passed the mountaines, the Venicians army was come into Lombardy abydyng the commyng of the Frenchmen, and in the meane season they marched toward themperors army which lay at the citie of Millain. Wherof hearyng Anthony de Leva wyth viii.C. Almaines and Spanyardes on fote, and as many Italians marched forward to mete with them, and by force caused them to take the toune of Meligna for refuge, where he hearing that Jhon de Medices with a great nomber wer comming toward the Venicians, he in the evenyng or his enemies were aware sodainly set on the sayd Jhon de Medyces, whiche began to set his men in an order, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his horse and fled and left his company alone, which were slayn almost al, and lost four great pieces of ordinaunce, whych Anthony de Leva caried with him to Millayn. In which season the lorde Lawtrick with his army was passed the mountaines and was come to the citie of Aster abyding the Swiches, wher he heard tell how that Lewes Erle of Lodron with a great crew of Almaines was come to the toune of Boske nye Alexandry with money and vytail to ayde the Almaines that kept Alexandry: wherfor he sent hys horsemen to stoppe them that they should not passe to Alexandry, and after them he folowed wyth his whole army, and besieged them in Boske which a certain daies defended, but at the last they yelded the toune and became souldiers to the Lord Lawtrick. In this same season Andrew Dorie Admyral of the French Navy lay before the haven of Gene and kept the Genowayes from al marchaundise and vytailes which to the cyty might repaire, and in especiall he letted certain shippes of corne whiche lay at Pont de Ferry betwene Gene and Savona to come to Gene. The Genowayes which lacked

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lacked corne and were on the land side besieged by a citezen of their own which was on the French part called Cesar Fulgosus, imagined how to bring the shippes of corne into the citie, and when they sawe that Andrewe Dory had but xvii. Galeys. They prepared vi. Galeys to fyght with Andrew Dorye. Durynge whyche fight the shippes with corne shuld entre the haven. When the galeis wer abrode, a sodain tempest rose wyth such a violence, that Andrew Dory was fayne to take the port of Savona for his succor, and so the shippes of corne came safe into the haven of Geane, and all the Galeys in safetie: this good was fortune to Geane at this tyme.

When the citezens of Geane were thus vitayled, they toke to them good courage, and in warlyke maner issued oute against Cesar Fulgosus which knew wel that thei had litle more then iii. C. Spanyardes that could skill of the war, and as for the remnant were neither of stomacke nor of experience in warre, wherfore he boldely set on them, and whyle they were fighting wythout, the citezens wythin which be ever mutable sodainly cried Fraunce Fraunce, whiche clamour came to the eares of Adurnus which was imperial, wherfore he retyred backe into the citie to appeace the rumor, but their enemies folowed them in such hast that both entred together, and so Geane was become French. Then thither came the lorde Lawtrick, and put there a capitaine wyth a retinue for the safe keping of the citie. Then Adurnus duke of Geane whych was in the castle with divers of the Emperors frendes and lacked vitail and saw no comfort of reskew, yelded the castle upon condicion to departe wyth bagge and baggage, and so they dyd. In the meane season certain Frenchmen which were left at Boske defaced the toune, and then came before Alexandrie, and there kepte a siege volant that no ayde or succor shoulde come to the toune, til the whole army wer assembled to besiege the toun. But for al that purpose, by the Dounes of Alexandrie, Albericke Barbian wyth v. C. souldiers came into the toune, whych much comforted the garryson there which was in maner dismayed because their aid at Boske had fayled them. The Frenchmen besieged the toune and bet it wyth ordynaunce, and they within manfully defended it, and made new countermures, so that their enemies could not enter without jeoperdy. But at the last the Venicians brought thither great

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great pieces of ordinaunce, whych so sore bet the walles that Baptist Lodryn the capitayn saw that he was not able to defende it and so he delyvered the toune upon thys composicion, that he and his shoulde depart wyth bagge and baggage, and he nor his to weare no harnys against the French kyng nor hys confederates by the space of vi. monethes. Then the lorde Lawtryck delivered the toune to Fraunces Sforcia according to the league, whych Fraunces put there a convenient garryson. Thence the army removed to Belgrasse which to them was yelded and also delivered to the duke of Millain, and from thence thei removed toward the citie of Millain, wher of hering Anthony de Leva fortefied the castle of Millayn and sent Lewes Barbyan to defende the city of Pavy.

When the Lorde Lawtryck was within viii. mile of Myllayn, he sodainly returned toward Pavy, which men judged to be done for the displeasure that was done there to the Frenchmen, when their king was taken, and so the xix. day of September thei besieged Pavy, and daily betwene them wer great skyrmishes, but at last they bet the walles so with greate ordinaunce, that they made the toune assautable. Then the Frenchmen threwe into the dyches fagottes and emptye pipes, and shortly entred the toune. The capitayn perceiving the toune entred, opened the gate and yelded himself prisoner. Then the Frenchmen slewe and kylled on every syde, robbed and spoyled houses and churches, and spared no person nor place, and of crueltie raunsomed one man v. or vi. times, and the Gascoynes, which were most cruel, set fier in the fayre houses, and had brent the whole citie if the lord Lawtryck after vii. dayes spoilyng had not commaunded them to cease. When Pavye was thus taken and spoyled, the Lorde Lawtrick determined with the Cardinal Innocent legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliveraunce of the pope incontinent to passe to Rome and to drive away al the Emperors power from thence and to restore the Pope to libertie.

Fraunces Sforcia duke of Myllayn hearing of this determinacion came to the lord Lawtrick to Pavye, and required him first to rid the duchy of Millayn of themperors souldiers, rather then to go forward and leave his enemies behynd him. The Lord Lawtryck answered that he was of the same opinion, but the commission that he had of the French kyng, and the

kyng

kyng of England was, that with all spede he shoulde go forward to delyver the bishop of Rome, which done, he faythfully promised that he would returne and expulse all the Emperors power out of Lombardy, and in the meane ceason he woulde that the duke and the Venicians shoulde besiege Anthony de Leva in the castle of Millayn. Duke Fraunces semed to be content with this answer, but yet he perceived, that the French kyng cared not for his restoryng, lest he should be emperiall. So for that tyme the duke dissembled the matter and toke possession of the citie of Pavye. When the Lorde Lawtrick had layen xvi. dayes at Pavy, he dismissed the Swiches which in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherfor he marched forward with his owne army and came to Pleasance, where he concluded a league with Alphons duke of Farrer, and Frederycke marques of Mantua, so that then he knew wel that he might wel passe in safetie: and then in good ordre of battail he marched toward Rome for the finishing of this enterpryse. But or he was passed out of Lombardy themperor had sent letters to the B. of Rome and excused him self, that he neither willed nor commaunded such mischief to be done and straightly commaunded his captaynes to deliver him. The Prince of Orenge and other captayns of themperors hearing his commaundement, toke agrement with the pope and his Cardinals, and so he and xii. cardinals wer bound to performe certen articles to the nomber of xi. and then he was delivered out of the Castle saynct Angel the x. day of December and was conveyed to Oruyet, wherafter he had payed certayn money for the souldiars wages he was put at full libertie and the Emperors people departed from him, and thence he removed to Ancona. When tydynges was brought into Englande of his deliveraunce, the Cardinall in greate hast caused *Te deum* to be song on Newyeres day in the kinges Chapel and declared openly that he was escaped and sayd not delyvered, whyche made manye men to muse: and on sonday the x. day of January the Cardinal with great triumph came to the church of S. Paule in London, and on him attended divers prelates and the Clergy, and there *Te deum* was song againe and after that doctor Capon openly declared howe that byshop Clement had ben long kept in distres by faulte of tyrannes and infideles, and so kept as prysoner to the behofe of Charles the Emperor, til now of late

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Clement pope delyvered.

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late through the prayers of good Christen people he was escaped the handes of hys enemies, for whych cause he wylled all men to geve thankes to God. That nyght were great fyers made in the kynges courte and in al London. Shortlye after this trueth was knowen, that the Pope was delyvered by composicion, and not frely escaped as the Cardinall had blowen abroade, but men sayd that he coulde not leave his liynge.

Whyle the lord Lawtrick was continually goyng forwarde to delyver pope Clement, he was credibly enformed at Bonnony, that he was delivered and at his libertie, wherfore he thought his jorney voyde to go to Rome to do nothing, he therfor determined to turne toward Napels and to take the citie, yf it were not fortefyed or replenyshed wyth men of war, and so according to this purpose he jornied forward with great dilygence. The Emperors capitaynes perceyvyng the Frenchemens entent, caused al their souldioures to depart out of Rome in the beginnyng of February (which was against the mynde of the souldiers) and so came into the realme of Napels and fortefied certain tounes as thei passed, and so came to a toune called Troy and there they taried: This removing was to them very profitable. For yf thei had taried at Rome they had bene set on wyth the Italians on the one syde, and the Frenchmen on the other syde, that by every mans judgemente they should al have bene taken or slayne. The lorde Lawtrick departed from Bonnony to Inmole and so to Fayance Forlicke, Pezere, Senegal, Ancone, Ravenna, Lorer and to Ferne, which was at the foote of the mountaynes of Sybylles in the Duchie of Bresse percell of the realme of Napels, in whiche were certain nobles of that countrey whiche seynge the armye so puyssant departed thence to Napels. As the armye passed the mountaines in the Lent season, there died of very cold v. C. Gascoines and mo, and so wyth much payne they came nere to Troy in Puylle the xv. day of Marche, where the Spaniardes, and the Emperors army lay. Sir Robert Jernyngham of England which was captain of the lyght horsemen, knowing their enemies so nere, desired the Lord Lawtrick that he wyth hys company might assay the Spaniardes. The Lorde Lawtreck (whether it was for lacke of corage, or that he were corrupted by money) in no wise would suffre sir Robert Jerningham to fight, but saied he

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he would take theim at a more avauntage shortly, which answere sore greved sir Robert, in so muche he said he would accuse hym, to both the kynges their Masters.

The Spaniardes which laie at Troy, thought to entre Naples before the Frenchmen, and so on the xxi. daie of Marche beeyng Saterdaie, they removed and came to Naples, and fortified the citie, whyche was happie for the Emperor, for surely yf the Frenchmen had come first, they had been Masters of the citie. After the Emperors people were departed from Troy, as you have hard, the Frenchmen besieged it, and within a xi. daies it was to them yelded, and from thense thei removed to Melphe a strong litle toune, wher thei slewe and put to flight iiii. M. Spaniardes but thei lost many of their men ther, so that this toune was not to them very profitable: Sith the armie was entered into the realme of Naples there was ever some sickenes emongest them, and in especial there raygned emongest them a sore hote fever, of the which many gentlemen died or thei came to Naples, for at the toune of Verse there died sir Richard Jernyngham, and Jhon Carew of Hackam, two valiant capitaines, sent thether by the kyng of Englande and diverse other, whiche two gentlemen be there buried.

When the Frenchmen had taken Melphe, thei removed to Bonivent and from thence to Magdelon, where thei laye all Easter: and after Easter thei came before the citie of Naples, and firste they tooke the Palace that standeth without the citie, very pleasant to beholde, and after that was taken, thei planted their siege round aboute the citie, and cast trenches, and made fortificacions, for the defence of sodain invasions of their enemies: all the whole armie laie in an open plaine ground, without coverture very nere the citie, by reason whereof, thei wer sore cumbered with hete and drouth, whereupon ensued greate mortalitie and death, for yf thei had lien on the hill side nere coverte, thei had lien more whole somly, but their intent was to lye nere the citie, to the intent to kepe their enemies straight, and therfore thei planted their siege in the playne, which turned them to muche displeasure and disease. Thus was the siege planted before Naples, in the beginnyng of Aprill, and continued till the xxvi. daie of August next insuyng, and then by meane of mortalitie they removed as you shall here.

When

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When the lord Lawtreck was thus passing toward Naples, sir Frances Poynes Knight, which was sent with Clarenseaux kyng of Armes into Spain to the Emperor, returned into England before Christmas, in thende of December, and left Clarenseaux behynd, to bryng farther answere from themperor of thynges demaunded, wherof he said he would take longer advice or he would answere. This sir Frances reported that the Emperor so muche favored and estemed the kyng of England, that at his onely request and contemplacion, he had released and discharged twelve articles, which wer moste grevous and disprofitable to the Frenche kyng, not for the French kynges sake, but at the intercession of the kyng of Englande: yet this notwithstandyng, the Cardinall so invegled the kyng, that he so highly favored the French kyng, that all his causes he tooke and reputed as his awne, and did all that he might, to bryng the Frenche kynges purposes aboute.

The Emperor before this time had written to the Frenche kynge, and also advertised thereof the French Ambassadors, that laye in Spaine, that he would that the Frenche Kyng should sende to hym a diffinitive answere, yf he would withdrawe his people out of Italy or not, and let the Duchie of Millain alone, and to cease of all Invasions or not, and this answere to be geven the last day of January folowyng, and yf the sayd French kyng answered not by that day, then the lacke of answer to be taken for a defiaunce. Then the French Ambassadors before the day, shewed to the Emperour, the proffer which the French kyng offered to hym in articles, as you have harde before, in the conclusion taken at Amias by the Frenche kynge and the Cardinall in August laste passed.

Themperors answere to the foresaied Articles.

Which profers when the Emperoure had hard and seen, he saied to the Ambassadours, we thought surely that our cosin the French kyng and we, had been at a full conclusion, when the league and appoyntment was agreed at our toune of Madrill: for when he sued for his deliveraunce to us, he and his counsaill offered us certain profers, whiche we never demaunded, but we of pitie havyng compassion of his affliccion, accepted the saied offers, and agreed to his deliveraunce, whiche Articles he promised in the othe of a kyng, and also on the holy Evangelistes, to performe to the uttermoste, and theim inviolatly to observe and kepe. Wherupon wee clerely remitted, and delivered hym into his countrey, of all which promises

promises he hath performed none, wherfore we take him as perjured, and not worthy to be trusted, and nowe he offereth newe offers, which he cannot performe, as for the money we beleve he is able to pay, but as for money dewe for the kyngdom of Naples, we knowe not suche dutie, for it is our inheritaunce, although kyng Charles the seventh, by sotletie once usurped the same, which he longe not enjoied: as to release his title to Millain, that release is voyde, for the Duchie is Imperiall, and in our gifte as many other seigniories be: and as touchyng Tournay, ours it is of right and now in our possession: So that in all these thynges he would release and rendre thynges that he hath not: and as to the withdrawyng of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, for we truste that our armie shall expell them al Italy, maugre their hartes. And as touchyng the kyng of Naverr, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la Marche, we of pitie let them alone till we se our tyme, and then they shall knowe our puyssaunce: And as touching his offre to aide us with a navie, we trust we have such a navie provided, that we shal nede none of his: and where he faith he will mary our sister quene Aelienor, daughter to the kyng of Portyngal, if he had been true, that he might have doen or this, but nowe wee entende not to geve her to our enemie: and as touchyng her daughter to bee maried to the Dolphyn, that wee leave in suspence for this tyme. But wher he saieth that he wil defend us, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne myght and puyssaunce, hath ever defended us, and hym and his power hath defaced and vanquished wherefore we nede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hym self: and as touchyng the kynge of Englandes debt, we shall reasonably answere his Ambassadours, for that toucheth not the Frenche Kyng: But now my Lordes Ambassadours, sayd the Emperor, let the French Kyng your Master, fulfill the promise that he was sworne to, as a true Prince ought to do, and then he shall have his children delivered, or els accordyng to his othe, let hym yelde hymselfe prisoner agayn, and so shall his honor and truthe be saved, or els not: so with this answere the Ambassadors departed. Neverthelesse thei daily sued to the Emperour and his Counsaill to take the offers whyche were profered by the Frenche kyng, and emongest other thynges, the warre was sore laied to the Frenche Ambassadours charge, for that that the Frenche kyng made

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made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defiaunce, to whiche accusement they answered that that armye was procured by the Cardinal of Englande, when he was at Amias, for the delivery of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the Kynge of Englande bare the moste charge. When the Emperour hard this answere, he sent for the Ambassadoure of Englande, and to hym saied: My Lorde Ambassadoure, I muche marvaill why the kyng your Master, hath so great love to the Frenche kyng, his newe reconsiled frende, and withdrawen his love from me, that am his cosyn and alye: How fortuneth this, that your olde auncient enemies bee now in favoure, and your olde frendes cast out of favoure. I se well there is indignacion had at our estate, and waies fought to greve us, whiche wee hope to wythstande: But who woulde have thought that our Uncle of Englande, would have made warre on us. How would he have us graunt his requestes and desires for the Frenche Kyng, seyng he sheweth hymself our open enemy? Then the Ambassadoure discretly answered, that he neither heard nor knewe of suche doynges, on his faithe and honoure. Well saied the Emperoure, yf it bee true that is reported, myne Uncle is not the Prince that I have taken hym for, and yf he be myne enemye, I muste withstande hym, and in a greate fury, the Emperoure withdrewe him from the Ambassadour, to his privie chamber.

Daily the Ambassadours, bothe of Englande and of Fraunce, sollicited themperor and his counsail, to accept the French Kynges offers, which made ever answere, that thei would not truste to the newe promise, seyng that the olde promise which was sworne, was not observed and kept. Nowe whosoever indifferently shall consider, the Articles which were offered in the treatie of Madrill, and the Articles offered now at Amias shall openly perceive, that the greatest thyng which the Frenche kyng refused to do, was the delivery of the Duchie of Burgoyn and the Countie Charoloys, for declaracion whereof, the French kyng sent for all the nobles of bothe the countreys, and declared theim thys promise and concord, taken wyth the Emperor, which answered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forrein prince or person without the sentence, agrement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of the same

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same countrey, and therefore they would never assent to the alteracion: This answer was delivered to lorde Charles de la Noa Viceroy of Naples, then Ambassador for the Emperor in Fraunce, which thereof certified the Emperours counsaill. But the Emperoure and hys Counsaill thought this to bee but a deceipte, in so muche as the French kyng had onely called suche of Burgoyne, as hym pleased, and not the substanciall of the countrey. And farther the Emperor so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire there of bloud discended from duke Philip, soonne to kyng Jhon of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would have that article broken, but he would have that Duchie. The French kyng perceived his mynd, and offered to hym great sommes of money for the redemyng of that article, the kyng of England also offered to be suretie for the paiment: but all this could not move the Emperour, but he would have Burgoyne, and all the saied treatie and agrement performed.

The kyng of England considerynge how muche he had doen for the Emperor, and callyng to his remembraunce, bothe that the Lordes and Commons of Spaine, would not have taken hym as kyng his mother livyng (although she wer Lunatike) because she was heire, without his greate labour and intercession, and also that he holpe hym to be elected Emperour, which the Frenche kyng had obteigned, yf he had not put thereunto his aide, and sent Docter Richard Pace his Secretory to the Electors to Franckeford, and moste of all that he at all tymes, had succoured the saied Emperoure with money, and was not paied, wherfore he was not a litle displeased with the Emperours wilfulnes, but more with his unkyndnes, and perceived clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgotten al the kyndnes to him shewed wherfore he thought to make him to knowe hymself by warres, the soner to bryng hym to accomplishe his request, and to make him to remember his olde kyndnes, and so by the avise of the Cardinal of Yorke (which loved not the Emperoure, for the Bishoppe of Romes case) and other of his counsaill, he sent woorde to Clarenseaux kyng of armes, to make defiaunce to the Emperour, and so Guyau Herault for the French kyng and the sayd Clarenseaux for the kyng of England, the xiiii. day of January, in the citie of

Defiaunces made to the Emperour.

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of Burgues in Castle, came before the Emperour beynge nobly accompaignied with Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, and Barons, in his greate hall, and there made their defiaunce.

When the defiaunces were made by bothe the Kynges of Armes, as you have heard, all the nobles which were present, as the Constable of Castell, the Duke of Massedonia, the Duke of Invancaso, the Duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Civill, the Duke of Nassaw, or Nazareth, the Duke of Alvoy, the Marques of Sturgus, the Marques of Agular, the Marques of Villafranca, the Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, the Erle Bonivent, the Erle Arowen, the Erle Agulard, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Genever, with sixe great Lordes Commendatories Crossed, and many other noble menne and gentlemen, for a truthe to the nomber, of seven hundred at the least: all these drewe out their swerdes and sware that the defiaunces then made should be revenged, and sayed to the Emperour: Sir, yf the dispite of this defiaunce be unrevenged, the infamy and rebuke thereof, shall remain to us and our heires for ever wherfore our landes, lifes, and lordshippes, shalbe at your commaundement, and while any lyen of your succession remain, thys ignominie shalbe ever newe and not dye, till you have obteigned the double honor against all your enemies.

When the Emperor was thus defied, the warre was Proclaimed in Civill, in Valedolite, in Burgus, and in other places through all Spain: But when the commen people heard of this defiaunce, they wrong them selfes by the berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes should be spent, for the honor of the Emperor, and to be revenged on the French Kyng, whom they called perjured Prince, and so the common people cried in the stretes, now is come the tyme, that Spain shalbe renouned, and revenged on the Frenchmen, for their falsenes and wrong doynges. But alas saied they, why should we make warre with the Englishe nacion, whiche ever loved us, and never offended us: but this defiance procedeth not of them, but onely of the French kyng, and of the Cardinall of Englande, whiche is sworne French: thus the Spanyardes talked, and ever excused the kyng of Englande, and accused the Cardinall and saied, that he had a greate pencion out of Spain, and that notwithstandyng, because he might not have the bishopricke

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bishopricke of Toledo, he caused al this warre. This Proclamacion of warre, was proclamed with baners displaied, in the which were painted a redde swerde, and a Cresset burnyng, against the French kyng and his parte takers, not meanyng the kyng of Englande, by expresse name, but it was rehersed in the Proclamacion, that the Kyng of England had manaced, and defied the Emperour, in the French kynges querell. Then wer the Englishe Merchantes in Spain attached, and their goodes put in safe custody, and to them was saied that they were staied onely, till the Emperour was advertised how his subjectes were ordered in England.

The Englishe Merchantes arrested in spain.

Tidynges of this was first knowen in Fraunce, and from thence letters were sent to the French Ambassadours in London, how bothe the Ambassadors of Fraunce and of Englande, beyng in Spaine, and Guien and Clarenseaux officers of Armes, wer retained by the Emperor as prisoners, which report was false, for thei were at libertie, and wel cherished, and in especiall the Englishe Ambassadors and Clarenseaux wer frendly enterteined in all places. When the Cardinal hard this report he was to light of credence (which he forthought afterward) and was sore there with moved, and in his fury the xii. day of February, he caused Don Hugo de Mendosa, the Emperors Ambassador, to be taken out of his house, in sainct Swithines lane in London, and to be brought to Sir Jhon Daunces place in Marke lane, as a prisoner, and his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinalles servauntes, till the Kynges plesure wer farther knowen.

The Cardinalles saiyng in the Starre Chamber.

The morowe after beyng the xiii. day of February, the Cardinal beyng in the Starre chamber, called before hym al Justices of the Peace and other honest personages to a greate nomber, and to them sayed: My lordes and all you the kynges lovyng subjectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, howe that his highnes, not of his awne sekyng, but rather against his will and intent, is entered into warre: For the electe Emperor Charles the fifth, hath hym so handeled and moved, that he must of necessitie with him make war. First, it is not unknowen to you all, how good the kyng hath been to hym, sithe his infancie, how he hath defended his lowe countreis duryng his noneage? Ye what payn the kyng toke by his Ambassadors, to sollicite the lordes of Spayn, which refused to take him

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him as their kyng, while his mother lived, and by the kynges onely labor, he came to the kyngdom of Spain, what it cost the kyng to helpe him to be Emperor, we that be his counsailers can tel, for yf the kyng had not been, surely the Frenche kyng had been Emperor. Beside all these kyndnesses, he hath lent to the said Emperor, diverse great sommes of money, to defend his countreys, and what profite his countreis have by the resort of Englishmen thether, ye that be Merchauntes can tell: for these thynges with many mo proffites, commodities, and gratuities, the kynge of him is so litle regarded, that I am halfe asshamed to report it. True it is that Frances the Frenche kyng, was to hym prisoner (which chaunce hath happened to many high princes) the kyng our master, highly regardyng the peace of Christen princes, by which peace God might the more be glorified: desired the Emperor to take some resonable ende for his deliveraunce and for that purpose hath sent to him sondery Ambassadors, which gave them eares, but dalied with them, and nothyng would do at all, and regarded no more his requestes, then I would the desire of my servaunt (and peraventure not so much) so that for all gratuities and frendshippes to hym, by the kyng our sovereigne lorde, at all tymes shewed, he sheweth himself ingrate and ungentle, and for kyndnes rendereth unkyndnes: as for the Frenche Kyng I assure you, he hath humbled hymself asmuche as a prince maie, his honor saved. He hath offered hym so great offers, that excepte he shoulde geve hym his realme and Croune, he can offer no more larger, which offers I assure you, sore minishe the beautie of his Croune, whiche I shall brevely declare unto you. For he offereth to paie five hundred thousand poundes sterlyng, whereof three hundred thousande, to be paied in hand, for the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bound, and farther to discharge the Emperoure, of all suche sommes of money, as he oweth to the kyng of Englande, and to deliver hym a sufficient acquitaunce for the same. Also where the French kyng should have, out of the kyngdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crounes yerely, the Frenche kyng will release the same pencion, with all the arrerages whiche are no smal some. Also he will release his whole title and right, which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, hys very enheritaunce, and he never to chalenge or claime the same nor his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flaunders

maye

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maye lawfully appeale to the Parliamentes of Fraunce, from judgementes geven by the Emperour or his Justices, he is content to release the same superioritie and resorte, which is a greate minishement to the prerogative royall, of the Realme of Fraunce, for whiche of you (sayed the Cardinal) would concent that the kyng should release his Seignioritie or superioritie of Wales, Irelande, or Cornèwall, I dare saie you would rather spende your lives and goodes.

Farther where the Frenche Kyng bought of the Kynge the Citie of Tournay, for sixe hundred thousande Crounes and odde, yet he is content to yelde and release the same Citie to the Emperoure for ever, yea, and beside this he offereth to take to wyfe, Elianor quene Dowager of Portyngall, without any dower, yea, in her kirtel, and to endowe her with tenne thousande Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the child yf it be a male, whiche shalbe gotten of theim two, shalbe duke of Burgoyne, and be partetaker of all the honours of Fraunce, whiche is a greate thyng: Also that the Dolphyn his sonne and heire, shall mary the daughter of the saied Ladye Elianor, without any treasure to bee received for the same, whiche proffer is worthe two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Farther more, he wol lende the Emperour Shippes and Mariners to conveigh hym to Rome, and also defende him against all menne, yea, what woll he doo more, although the kyng of Naver have maried hys awne sister, whose Kyngdome the Emperour kepeth by force, yet he offereth neither to ayde nor comforte hym against the Emperour, but in his querel to be against him: Also he offereth to forsake his old and approved frendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, whiche faithfully hat served the realme of Fraunce, and al for the Emperours sake. But the Emperoure saied he, is so indurate, so unkynde and wilfull, that he neither regardes the reasonable requestes, nor yet the kynges praiers nor requestes, but answered and sayed: that yf the Frenche kyng can dooe all this, he shall have his children. So that the Emperoure woll truste no manne, but every manne muste truste hym: Yet the French Kyng offereth farther, to withdrawe the puyssaun armye of the Lorde Lawtrecke in Italy, and yet the same passeth prosperiously forwarde, and is like to doo the Emperour more disavauntage, then I wyll now reherse: but the Emperour is so proude, and

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and his people so cruell, that he nothyng regardeth these offers: for what a crueltie was this, to pull doune Goddes Vicar of Rome, and persecut the holy fathers by extreme tyranny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threw the hostes doune on the aultar, and like robbers toke the Pixe: and farther in the Churche, they violated Virgins, and stupred matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the citie of Rome. And like as the kyng in huntyng tyme hath slain iii. C. dere, and the garbage and paunches bee cast round about, in every quarter of the Parke, so (saied the Cardinal) every strete laye full of the privie members and genitures of the Cardinalles and holy prelates: the whole history were to abhominable to tel. Yet notwithstandyng al these offers mocioned, and nothyng regardyng this detestable tyranny, the which every good Christen man abhorreth, he will encline to no reason. I am sure that I could shewe you xx. articles of promises, which he hath broken with the Kyng: so that I assure you, he kepeth no promise with our sovereigne lord, also *contra ius Gencium*, which I am sure the greate Turke woulde not dooe, he kepeth prisoner the kynges Ambassador Docter Lee, the French Ambassador, and the Ambassadour of Venice: and for asmuche as the Emperor refuseth these offers, which amount to eight kynges raunsomes, I trust by this warre we shall bridle hym, and brynge hym to peace, and this occasion of warre, I would all you should declare in your countrey.

The murmor of the people.

When the Cardinal had saied, some knocked other on the elbow, and sayd softly he lieth, other sayd, that evill wil sayd never well, other saied that the French crounes, made him speake evill of themperor, but thei that knewe all that you have hard before saied, that it was shame for hym to lie in suche an audience. The common people much lamented, that war should arise betwene the kyng and themperor, and especiall their consideracion was, because the Emperors dominions, had holpen them with corne, and releved them with grain, when thei could have no corne, or litle out of Fraunce. And in this rumor wer diverse ships come out of Flaunders and that parties, laden with Heryng, Sturgion, and all other victale necessary, beside eight faire shippes, which wer laden with corne, all the saied shippes, and all the shippes of Spain, wer staied and arested, and their sailes taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doyng was

Shippes arrested.

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was muche talked of by Merchantes, which frequented the Emperors dominiyns, for thei knewe and openly sayd, that the let of the entercourse of Merchantes, should turne to the greate losse of the Princes, but yet Englishemen were content, to obeye their kyng and his counsaill.

The declaracion of warre in Englande against the Emperoure, and the restraint of Shippes of the Emperoures Subjectes, were shortly knowen to the Lady Margaret daughter of Savoy, and aunte to the Emperour, which was governor of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zelande and of all the Lowe Countreis: wherfore she by the avice of the Emperoures Counsaill to her associate, caused all the Englishemen and their goodes and Shippes to be restrained, and thei and their goodes were put in safe kepyng. Thus the poore Merchantes suffered greate losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace saieth: *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi:* what soever kynges do, the Commons be punished. Now after this sodain storme, which the Cardinal had moved openly against the Emperour, for evill entreatyng of the kynges Ambassadour, he had perfect knowlege that the Emperor, bothe did the kynges Ambassador greate honour, and also that he never restrained hym from his libertie, wherupon he caused the Emperors Ambassador, which before was restrained of his libertie, to bee sent to his awne lodgyng again, and saied that by the reporte made by the French Ambassadours, he him restraygned, and now sithe he knewe the truthe, he mocioned the Kyng for his deliveraunce.

The Emperours Ambassadour, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparant signes: and the Cardinall the more to avoyde suspicion on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, saied: the kyng was enformed by the French Ambassadours, that the Ambassadours of bothe Princes were put in prison, and farther he saied that Clarenseaux had made the defiaunce to the Emperoure without the kynges commaundement, but onely did it by the mocion of the French Ambassadours, to accompaignie the French Herault, and for this presumpteous act, he should suffre death at Calice at his returne: all these excuses the Cardinall shewed to the Emperors Ambassador, which certified the Emperour of every poynt, and sent the letter by poste into Spaine, which letters were opened

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Clareseaux made a feard.

opened and copied, by the capitain of Bayon, as the poste passed that waye. And when Clarenseaux returned homeward out of Spain, the Capitain gently shewed to him the copie of the letters, that the Emperours Ambassadoure had written. Thynke you not but Clarenseaux was dismaied, to here his daies so shorte: yet he trustynge in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein, where he hard worde again of the danger that he was in, wherfore like a wise man he left Calice, and tooke a Ship at Bullein, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the kyng, laye, and by frendeship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kynges privie chamber, he was brought to the kynges presence, or the Cardinal wist of his returne and to hym shewed the three Letters, whiche the Cardinal had sent to hym, chargyng hym to make the defiaunce, or he did intimate the war. He declared farther, that neither the Ambassadours of the kyng, nor the Frenche kyng, nor he wer never sequestered from libertie, but gently entertained, and to the kyng he shewed a chayne, to the value of seven hundred Ducates, which the Emperoure had geven hym, and shewed also the copie of the Emperoures Ambassadoures letters, whiche he had at Bayon. When the kynge had heard all the circumstaunce of his declaracion, he mused a greate while, and saied: O Lord Jesu, he that I trusted moste, tolde me all these thynges contrary, well Clarenseaux I will be no more of so light credence hereafter, for nowe I see perfectly, that I am made to beleve the thyng that was never doen.

The wise saiyng of the kyng.

Then the Kyng sent for the Cardinall, and privily talked with hym, but whatsoever he saied to hym, the Cardinal was not very mery, and after that tyme, the Kyng mistrusted hym ever after. When the kynge and his Counsaill, had well digested the Emperoures answere, and his gentle demeanor toward the kynges Ambassadors, and also had pondered that the lowe countreis of the Emperor, wer glad to please the kyng of Englande and his Subjectes: wherefore the Kynge commaunded, sir Jhon Stile knight, to discharge all the Duchemen and their Shippes, and delivered their Sailes, and gave them license to returne: Naye said the Duchmen, the Spanyardes and we be the Emperours Subjectes, why should not thei be also discharged? sir Jhon Stile answered them, that his Commission was onely to discharge

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discharge them. The Duchmen fearyng that the Frenchemen would take the seas before them, and so to stop them, departed hastely, curssyng the Cardinall as aucthor of this war.

When the Lady Margaret heard tell, howe the Duche nacion with their Shippes and goodes were released, and not the Spanyardes, she sent for the Englishe Merchauntes, and to theim sayed: Sirs, sithe the Kyng your Master, hath delivered onely the Duche men, and not the Spaniardes, we relese your bodies free, to go at your libertie, but your goodes shall remaine, till we knowe what shal become of the Spaniardes, and when they be delivered, come for your goodes, and you shall have theim delivered, thus the Englishemen departed, and came to the kyng, and declared to hym and his counsaill, how thei were entreated.

Complaynt of the Clothiers.

This warr with the Emperor was displeasant, both to Merchantes and Clothiers, for the Merchauntes durste not aventure into Spaine, sithe Aprill last past, and now was come the xi. daye of March, wherfore all brode Clothes, Kerseis, and Cottons, laye on their handes. In somuch as when the Clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Suffolk, and other shires which use Clothmakyng, brought clothes into Blackewel hall of London, to be sold as thei were wont to do: fewe Merchantes or none bought any cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then thei put from theim their spinners, carders, thickers, and such other that live by clothworkyng which caused the people greatly to murmor, and specially in Suffolke, for yf the duke of Norffolk had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but thei had fallen to some riotous act. When the kynges counsail was advertised of this inconvenience, the Cardinall sent for a greate nomber of the Merchantes of London, and to them saied: Sirs the kynge is informed, that you use not your selfes like Merchantes, but like Grasiers and artificers: for wher the Clothiers do daily bryng clothes, to your market for your ease, to their greate cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulnes will not bye them, as you have been accustomed to do: what maner of men be you sayd the Cardinall? I tel you that the kyng straightly commaundeth you to bye their Clothes, as before tyme you have been accustomed to do, upon payn of hys high displeasure.

The Merchantes answered, my lord you knowe well, that we

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we have had no trade outward this twelve monethes paste, and we have so many clothes in our handes, that we knowe not how to utter them, therfore it were greate losse to us to bye any more: wherfore we trust you wil not move us to bye the thyng, whiche we cannot utter, for in all places our vent is stopped and forbidden. Well sayed the Cardinal, yf you will not bye the clothes at Blackewell hall, they shall be brought to the White Hall at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the libertie, and the kyng shall bye them all, and sell them to Merchant straungers. Then answered a wise Merchant, my lord, the kyng maye bye them aswel at Blackewell hall, yf it please him, and the straungers wyll gladlyer receive theim there, then at Westminster: You shal not ordre that matter, saied the Cardinall, and first I will sende into London, to knowe what Clothes you have in your handes, and that doen the kyng and his counsaill shall appoynt who shall bye the Clothes I warrant you, with this answere the Londoners departed.

When the Clothiers hard that the Cardinall toke their part, they waxed proude, and spake evill of the Merchantes, and when the Merchantes came to bye Clothes, the Clothiers set them hire, then thei were accustomed to be solde: but at length thei were fain, bothe to abate the price, and also to seke of the Merchant men, for all the Cardinalles saiynge.

If this warre was displeasaunt to many in Englande (as you have hard) surely it was asmuch or more displeasant, to the tounes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Zelande, and in especiall to the tounes of Andwarpe and Barrow, where the Martes wer kept, and where the resorte of Englishmen was, for thei saied that their Martes were undoen, yf the Englishemen came not there, and yf there were no Marte, their Shippes, Hoyes, and Waggons might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might slepe, and so the people should fal into miserie and povertie, of these thinges daily complaintes were made to the lady Margaret, and the Emperors counsail, whiche wisely pondered the complaintes, and after long consultacion had, thei appoynted certain Ambassadors to go to the kyng of England, and to entreate for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into England, and associated themselfes with Don Hugo de Mendosa, Ambassadour there for the Emperor: the one Ambassador was Provoste of Cassell, and the other Master Jhon

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The saiynge of Hugo de Mendosa.

Jhon Lay sovereigne of Flaunders: these iii. Ambassadors came to the kyng, the xxix. day of Marche to Richemond and after reverence doen, the lorde Hugo de Mendosa said to the kyng, sir themperours Majestie so much knowlegeth hymself bound to your grace, for manifolde kynde actes and benevolences, doen and shewed to hym sith his tendre age, that he in no wise woll take the defiaunce, doen by your Herault as a paremptory intimacion of warre, tyll he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therfore his counsaill hath sent hether these twoo noble persones and me, to knowe your determinate answer, and finall resolucion in that behalfe. The Kynge after a good avisement had, answered and saied: Of warre I am nothyng joyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull, I thanke God I have no cause to care for warre, for I have bothe men and money, and all thyng ready prepared for the same, (whiche thynges I knowe the other princes lacke, for all their high wordes) and therfore to that question of warre, I could sone agre, but or I make you a determinate answere, some part of my mynd I will declare to you, and I tell you although your Master be a greate Emperor, and a mightie Prince, I cannot nor maie not suffre hym, to bere doune and destroye the realme of Fraunce, which is our true inheritance and for the whiche our brother and alie the French kyng, paieth us yerely a great pencion and tribute, wherefore we of Justice and equitie, muste maintein that lande, out of whiche we have so faire a rent and suche a profite.

The kynges answere.

Then saied the Provost of Cassell, yea sir, and it please you to call to your remembraunce, the olde and auncient love and familiaritie, whiche hath been betwene youre Realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and the lowe countreys, I assure you the people of all those countreis will live and dye with you, above all men next their sovereigne Lord, wherefore moste noble Prince never consent, that olde love that hath so long continued, be now broken and seperated: we saie this for no feare, for we be well furnished for war, bothe of men and strong castles, all whiche before this tyme hath been at your commaundement, and therfore the love that we have ever borne you, we continue and offer you nowe to continue: and where we offre you choyse of war or peace, at your pleasure, surely the Emperour meaneth that for youre honor, as though you should commaunde which you

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The saiynge of Hugo de Mendosa.

you would: and yf you chose warre, we have commission to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we have like commission to thanke you, and to offre us and ours at your commaundement. Then saied the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa to the kyng, sir of very right the Emperor and his countreis, ought to have your love and favor, before the French kyng and his nacion: for the Frenchmen in the tyme of their affliccion, made humble sutes and requestes to your grace, which thei never would do in the tyme of their prosperitie, but the Emperour hath ever continued one man at all tymes, wherefore he is better to be trusted, then they which never wer long true to you. Wel said the kyng sithe I have well perceived the intent of your commyng, I woll be avised, and then I will make you an avised answere, and in the meane season I am content, that there be an abstinence of warre for a tyme, so the Ambassadours departed for a season, and the Provost of Casselles, departed to the lady Margaret with this answere.

After this the kyng which was wise, wel learned, and a farre castyng prince, consulted with his counsaill of this matter, and there after long debatyng it was considered, that the kynge was riche, strong, and puyssant inough to make warre with any prince Christen, and that no prince could hurte hym by warre or invasion, therfore some thought it best to have warre, but the king and the wiser sort considered that yf he had war with the Emperor, that his marchauntes should lese muche, and if thei lost, the clothiers and the clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should lese and be brought to extreme povertie. For it was considered, that the Emperor was Lord of all Spayne, Napels, Sardinia and so southward to Epuskaia, and likewise northest ward from Gravelin to Rye and Revel, so that Englysh marchauntes passyng on those coastes were ever in daunger. Also no Alarme could come into England but through hys dominions, by reason wherof cloth making should decay. Wherfore the kyng considered if the marchauntes lost, the porer sorte should lese, and at length he should lese in his customes. Wherfore leaving the glorye of warre he tooke mercy on hys subjectes and concluded to take peace for a tyme, til farther communicacion myght be had betwene hys counsayl and the Emperors. And upon this point letters wer sent into Spayne, Fraunce, and

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and Flaunders, and so this matter continued undetermined til answeres wer brought from outward partes.

In this season the bishop of Baion whiche afterward was bishop and Cardinall of Paris beyng ambassador from the French kynge and sojornyng in London, heard tel how the Emperors ambassadors made much suite to the kynge and his counsayll, wher he came to the court and desyred to speake wyth the kynge, and so was brought to the kinges presence, to whom he sayd: pleaseth your hyghnes to consyder the great and high peace, that is concluded betwene you and your lovinge brother and perpetual alye the French king my maister, which is ratefyed and confirmed by the thre estates of the realme of Fraunce, by the whych you have yerely xx. M. pound sterlyng, which realme you have promised to defende against al persones: Nowe in shewyng your love that you beare to the Frenche kyng and his subjectes. If you would make sharpe warre on the Emperors subjectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraunce would take it so thankefullye that it should never bee forgotten. Well sayd the kyng, as touching the league and amitie betwene my brother of Fraunce and me it shal be inviolately kept for me, but sir to enter into warre it nedeth no counsayl, but how to end war with honor and profyte men must nedes study. As touchyng the defence of the realme of Fraunce, I assure you it shalbe defended to my power thoughe it bee to my losse, and my studie is no lesse to have a peace whiche myght be honorable to your mayster, then to myne owne selfe. With which saying the Ambassador held wel contented. So that you may perceyve that the greate pencion and profyt that the kyng of England had out of Fraunce with the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the kyng of England so much helde wyth the French kyng and not for mere love. For thys matter was dayly great counsayles, and one day the Emperors ambassador was present, another day the French kings ambassador was present, but the Cardinal was ever on the French part. So thus contynued this dayly counsayles wer great study.

The suyte of the Frenche ambassadors.

The kynges aunswere.

In the same season a Frenche Crayer of xxx. tonne manned wyth xxxviii. Frenchemen lay at Margate to wayte for a pray for some Flemyng that shoulde come out of the river of Thames, and by chaunce a Crayer of Armew which was

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was appointed to waft the fisher boates betwene Gravelyn and Ostend, was come by North of Goodwyn sandes to Northsand head and so came to Gravesend and toke in bread: This Crayer was of xxviii. tonne and had in her xxiiii. Fleminges: When she was vitayled she made to the sea warde, and sodainly he espyed the Frenchmen whyche hoved under a saile. The Flemynges mystrusted and incontinent put themselfes in a readynes and came so nye that he hayled the Frenchman, the Frenchman shot a piece of ordinaunce and with that layde the Fleminge aborde, there was sore fightinge, for the Frenchman had crosbowes and the Fleminges had handgunnes. The Frencheman fell of and would have bene gone, that seyng the Flemynge whysteled and after the Frenchman made sayle. Now the winde was so straynable East that the Frenchman could saile no whither but into the Thames, and so he did and the Fleming folowed, and before Gravesend the Flemyng borded the Frenchman, and there they fought again, but away again went the Frenchman and the Fleminge after with all his sailes, and so farre sailed the Frenchman that he ranne a longe the Tower wharffe, as though he should have reven hys shyppe, the Flemyng set on and entered the shippe for anye thinge the Frenchman could do and cryed I have taken the thefe. Sir Emond Walsingham Livetenaunt of the Tower was on the wharffe and saw them fight called his men and entered the shippes and toke bothe capitaynes and their men. The Fleming boldlye chalenged his pryse, for he sayde that open warre was betwene Fraunce and Flaunders, and sayd farther that the Frencheman was a Pyrate: The kynges counsail toke up the matter, and made an ende betwene them. Thys chaunce was much talked of, that twoo shippes shoulde sayle in chase from Margate to the Tower wharffe because that before time such a like thing had never ben hard.

A ship chased to the Tower wharfe.

Now let us returne to the lord Lawtrick which had gotten many tounes in Italy, and had with his great army besieged the citie of Napels and so it happened that the Prince of Orenge and other captaynes the xix. day of Apryl set on a great part of the Frenche army, and notwythstandyng their hardines the Emperors army obteyned the victory, so from that tyme forth the Frenchemen lost, what by pestylence whyche then was great in Italy, and what by

by sodaine skirmyshes. Thys yere the xxii. day of February the Kynge created at Wyndsor Sir Pierce Buelar of Ireland, erle of Osserey.

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THE kyng kept the day of sainct George with the companions of the order of the Garter wyth great solempnitie at his manor of Richemond, where to him came tidynges from the army of the lorde Lawtrick in Italy, which letters shewed that the lorde Lawtrick had sent the Lorde Peter de Navarro the third day of Marche last past to a great toune called Melffe with x. M. Frenchmen, and within the toune were viii. C. Spanyardes good men of warre, the lord Peter de Navarro besieged the toune, and after gave to the same a great assaute, but the Spaniardes so defended them with ordinaunce and resistences that they slew v. or vi. M. Frenchmen and caused them to retrete. The lord Lawtrick hearyng this came in person with a great nomber to the toune of Smel and merveilously bet the toune with ordinaunce and then gave to it a great and fierse assaut, and so sore that the Spaniardes were put back, yet they defended them, so that it was mervail to beholde, for they slewe and destroyed iiii. M. Frenchmen. The Frenche kyng entered the toune on all sides, and yet the Spanyardes kept the market with their ordinaunce, as long as they might, but at the last beyng oppressed wyth multitude they al were slayne without mercy, so cruell were the Frenchmen: In this toune was taken the prince of Melff a noble man perteigninge to the Emperor. Thus was the toune of Melffe taken and spoyled, not greatly to the Frenchemennes profyte, for they lost almost x. M. men which sore diminished their power.

Although that this season was an abstinence or war taken betwene the kyng of Englande and the lady Margaret so that the dutche nacyon might safely come and go into England, and the Englishmen might safely repaire thither, yet betwene the Frenchmen and the Flemings was hot warre on the frontiers, and many a prisoner was taken, and manye men slain, and like wise the one part toke the other on the seas, and sometime the Frenchmen woulde spoyle Englishe shyppes,

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shyppes, saiynge that they hadde Flemynges goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Fleminges would enter the Englyshe shyppes, and say they had Frenchmens goodes, so the Englishmen lost til the king sent shippes to kepe the sea: But for a trueth the Spanyardes were stronge on the sea, and to the Frenchmen dyd much harme. The kynge perceivinge that there was nothing concluded betwene themperor and him, thought not to be behinde hand, wherfore he ordayned that the lord Sandes shuld passe to Guisnes with a M. souldiers that was v. C. archers and v. C. horsemen and that the duke of Suffolke should passe over after wyth a great army to invade Flaunders. These lordes made much preparacion and mustred their men at the Mantels beside S. Jhones and was redy to departe, but the Emperors ambassador and thambassadors of Flaunders so much did with the kinge and his counsail (and the French king also assented) that truce was taken betwene England, Flaunders, and the countreyes of Picardy on thys syde the water of Some for viii. monethes, the peace to begin the first day of May, and to endure to the last daye of February. Thys peace was proclaymed in London on the xix. daye of June, so that now al Englishmen myght lawfully passe into the low countreis, but not into Spain, which sore greved marchauntes that haunted that parties. In the same proclamacion was farther conteined, that yf a final peace wer not fully agreed betwene the said thre princes wythin the sayde viii. monethes, that then al marchauntes should have two monethes after to passe into their owne countreyes with their wares and marchaundyses in safetie. The Emperor sone enclyned to thys peace, for he saw that by the Mart many of his frendes in high Dutchland and other places toke greate profite and especially his own low countreys, wherfore he thought not to hurt his frendes for the displeasure he bare to hys enemies of Fraunce, and also to shew him self loving to the king of England he was content to take this peace.

In this season the duke Charles of Gelders perceiving the Emperor was at war with Fraunce, raised a great power of horsemen and came to a great toune of Holland called the Hage where the lawe and justice is kept for that countrey, by reason wherof the toune was very ryche, and sodainly he entred the toune without resistence and spoyled and robbed the

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the toune, and slew diverse persons and with much riches laded their wagons, and so departed and caryed with him divers rich prysoners. The lady Margarete governesse of the low countreis hearing of this raised a great power under the conduict of the lord Iselsteinge, whych lord with a great puissance entered Gelderland and gat the toune of Hatton, the castle of Howtyng, and forrayed and destroyed the countrey: lastly on Whitsonday beynge the laste day of Maye the Gelders gave battel to the lord Iselsteinge, and fought valiauntly as any men coulde do, but yet by fortune of warre they were overcome and fled, and wer chased a great way and many slayn. This chaunce was while the treatie of peace was in England.

The sweatyng sicknes.

In the very ende of May began in the citie of London the sicknes called the sweating sicknes, and afterwarde went al the realme almost of the which many died within v. or vi. houres. By reason of this sicknes the terme was adjorned and the circuities of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plage, for divers dyed in the court, of whom one was sir Fraunces Poynes which was Ambassador in Spayne, and other, so that the kyng for a space removed almost every day, tyl at the last he came to Titynhangar a place of the Abbotte of S. Albones and there he with a few determined to byde the chaunce that God woulde send him, whych place was so purged dayly with fyers and other preservatives, that neither he nor the quene nor none of their company was enfected wyth that disease, such was the pleasur of God. In this great plage dyed sir Wyliyam Compton knyght and William Cary esquyer whyche wer of the kinges privy chamber, and whom the kyng hyghly favored and many other worshipful men and women in England.

By reason of this plague the watches whiche were wont to be kept yerely in London on saint Jhons even at Mydsommer and saint Peters even were by the kyng and hys counsaill commaunded to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armores made great suite to the Kynge and declared their great hynderaunce, whiche was not so muche considered as the mischief that might have ensued yf that so great a nomber should have assembled together in that hote time and the plage of sweatyng rayning. Now let us leave England all this Sommer season troubled and vexed with this sweating sicknes, and let us returne to the affayres of Italy.

The

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The Emperor whiche knew how the lord Lawtrick was in Italy with a great army, thought it not for his profite to leave his army there unsuccored, wherfore he sent the lorde Henry the yonger duke of Brunswike with a great company of Almaynes both on fote and horsebacke. Wherfore the Venitians set Fraunces Duke of Orbyne to kepe the straytes and to stoppe him the passage: But when he heard of the puissaunce of the duke of Brunswycke and the great munitions and provisions of warre that the Almaynes brought, he turned his jorney, and by advise of the Venicians determined to fortifie the tounes and to defende them against the Almaynes, and so the duke of Brunswyke with his armye passed the mountaines and entered Italy burnyng, rasynge and raunsomyng tounes as he passed, and ever he marched toward Myllain, wherof hearyng the Mylleners which were brought to extreme povertie by these warres beganne to lament and waile for the great tyranny that they judged to folowe whiche folowed in dede. For when the Almaines came to Myllayn and demaunded money of the Citezens, they that had nothyng to paye, were tyed in chaynes and kept miserably in prison tyll they had made some provision for the payment, whyche caused the Citezens to flee out of the citie and to leave it in maner desolate: whiche thyng Anthony de Leva perceivyng, moved with great compassion for the desolacion of the citie called the Citezens together and promised them that yf they would paye the wages of the souldiers for xx. dayes onely, he would cause all the whole army to remove out of the citie, the poore citezens made shyft and payed the souldiers, and so they all departed from Myllayne and came to the citie of Pavye and toke it with litle labor and after that tooke divers other tounes.

Anthony de Leva knewe well the Duke of Brunswycke woulde in the spryng of the yere set forward towarde Naples to ayde the Emperors armye against the lorde Lawtrick, therefore he desired the Duke that or he passed out of the duchye of Myllayne, he woulde put all the Frenchemen out of suche fortresses as they kept, whiche thyng he sayd might be easely done consideryng the great puissaunce of the Almaynes and the debilitie and lacke of power of the Duke of Myllayne, and in especiall consideryng that the Venicians kept their tounes and wold not ayde the Frenche parte, to the whiche

whiche persuasions the Duke agreed and went toward the citie of Lawde to the which thei gave the assaut, but they within so well defended it that the Almaynes lost more then they wanne, wherfore the duke determined to famishe them within for he knewe by their great nomber that their vitaile must nedes fayle and so it did in dede, so that no creature but men of war had any vitaile and therfore the poore Citezens were compelled either to go into the handes of their enemies or to dye for famyn.

In this season was through all Italy a universall warre, famyn and pestilence or a morreyn wherof the people died in every place, and in especially in the Dukes armye whiche caused the moste part of the Almaynes to returne into their countrey, wherfore the duke wisely considered the chaunce and saw that his army was greatly minisshed by death, and saw farther that for lacke of vitaile and money he was not able to convey the remnaunt of his armye to Naples, by the advise of Anthony de Leva concluded to returne and so shortly after in good order returned and lost more by the pestilence then by his enemies.

The Frenche kyng was advertised by the lorde Lawtrick how his people decayed sore before Naples, and how the Duke of Brunswyke was commyng to raise the siege and reskue the citie, wherfore the French kyng sent lorde Fraunces erle saint Poul brother to the duke of Vandosme with viii. M. men to folowe the duke of Brunswyke to Naples, and yf he went not to Naples, then he should joyne himselfe with Fraunces Sforcia duke of Myllayne and the Venicians and so to expel Anthony de Leva and all the Emperors souldiers out of Lombardy.

The Spaniardes within Naples were advertised that new succors were commyng to the Frenchmen, wherfore they determined to fight with them or their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the citie and fought with the Frenchemen and slewe many of them, but by force they were compelled to returne. The lorde Lawtrick knew well that the citie could not holde long for lacke of vitaile (for a suertie yf vitaile had not come by sea, the toune had been yelded) wherfore the lord Lawtrick suffered his armye to lye still in the plaine fielde all the heate of the Sommer and brought theim not to the shadow, by reason wherof there fell suche a disease amongest his armye that they dyed daily in

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in great nomber and he hymselfe fell sicke and lefte the Armye and lay at Verse, of the whiche mortalitie there dyed in the Frenche campe above xxiiii. M. men besyde the moste parte of all their horses and beastes, of whiche nomber as divers wryters do agree there dyed above v. M. gentlemen, amongest whom there dyed the lord Vawdemont brother to Anthony duke of Lorraine, the lorde of Graunt-mount, the capitain Molyac, the lorde Lavall of the Dolphenye, the capitaine Luper, the lorde Charles Vyvone lorde of Chataygneray sonne to the Lord Andrewe of Vyvone Seneschal of Poytew, and many other noblemen of name.

Duryng whiche plague the toune of Cappe (whiche moste of all the tounes in the realme of Naples helde on the Frenche part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part. Whereof hearyng the lorde Lawtrick made therfore great sorowe, and beyng some what amended of his disease, tooke his horse and came to visite the Campe, and when he sawe his nomber so minished and his Campe so desolate of people that he perceived that his enterprise could not be performed, he fell into suche a malencoly that his sickenes toke him more fervently then before, so that within two daies after, which was the xxi. day of August he died at and hys body was sered and conveyed after into Fraunce.

The Marques of Saluce which was Livetenaunt under the lorde Lawtrick called to counsel the erle Guy of Rancon and Peter de Naver and other capitaines that wer left, and after long consultacion they considered their nomber to be to small either to kepe the siege or to abide battell, for they passed not v. M. in all. Wherfore they concluded to leve the siege and to returne, and so the xxv. daye of August they brake up their Campe and returned toward Fraunce, in which returne the Spaniardes ever costed them, and when thei tooke any Frencheman at advauntage, they either slewe or tooke them. Thus was the ende of this jorney by reason of the great mortalitie, which yf it had not happened, the citie and the whole realme of Naples had been recovered: For the citie of Naples could not have holden x. daies, after the army removed as they confessed after.

The Erle of saint Poul (whiche was appointed to passe into Italye as you have heard before) knew nothyng of the mortalitie at Naples. Wherfore with all spede he passed the mountaines

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mountaines the same season that the duke of Brunswyke returned and came into the duchy of Myllain and tooke certaine fortresses which the Emperors power had wonne, and after that the aydes of the Venicians and Duke Fraunces Sforcias were joyned with him, he besieged the citie of Pavye and within a fewe dayes the citie was taken by force and the walles beaten doune to the ground for dispite that the Frenche kyng was taken before the toune. These doynges were not so muche pleasaunt to the Frenche kynge as the losse of the citie of Geane was to him displeasaunt. For the same season Andrewe Dorye whyche was all the doer for the French kyng on the sea, and had before tyme in the Frenche kynges quarel vanquished the lord Hugo Viceroy of Naples, and had taken the Marques of Gnasto and Ascayne de Columna and other capitaine belongyng to the Emperor, whiche prisoners the French kyng commaunded hym to deliver into his handes, which thing Andrew Dory thought not reasonable, consideryng that he tooke him, and for that cause and because his wages was not payed, he tooke his Galeys and sayled to Geane where he was borne and also was there of great authoritie and estimacion, and there he so persuaded the people that they became imperiall and toke Trenulsius the Frenche kynges frende and put him in warde, and prepared to defende the citie against the French kynges power, whereof hearyng the Erle of saint Poule sent in all hast his light horsemen to succor the citie but or thei came the citezens wer so furnished that the Frenchmen had no hope of recovery, wherfore thei returned to Alexandry, and there thei counsailed together how to take the citie of Myllayne which was sore desolate of people and brought to greate mischiefe by the crueltie of Spaniardes and Almaines, but when they heard tel that the Emperor had sent ii. M. Spaniardes to ayde Anthony de Leva, thei chaunged their purpose and determined to recover the citie of Geane againe. For which purpose the Earle left the Venicians at Casyan, and the power of duke Fraunces Sforcie he left at Pavye to kepe the passages that the Spaniardes should not stray farre abrode, and also to kepe the passages that no vitayle should come to the Spaniardes whiche at that tyme had onely the citie and castle of Myllain and none other fortresse to resorte to. And therle hymselfe lay at a vyllage called Landryan, and for the more spede of his

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his enterprise he sent his forward with all his artillery before toward Geane, havyng with him his middle warde and rereward. Of all these doynges Anthony de Levaliyng at Myllayn by his espyals was truly from tyme to tyme advertised, wherfore he lyke a polletike capitaine considered how the erle had done folishly to sende his ordinaunce and forward before, he therfore determined to take the avauntage of the Frenchemen yf he might, and so called to him all hys capitaines and to theim sayd: Felowes in armes and souldiors to the Emperor our master, see and consider what a great occasion of victory is offered to us this present day, for the Venicians and the Sforcians be severed from the Frenchemen, and therle of saint Poul with part of his army lyeth at Landryan and hath sent his forward and his ordinaunce toward Geane, wherefore we wil set on him sodaynly if you agree, and if we overcome him the prayse shalbe ours, and if he flye at our commyng yet folowyng hym we shall get a great pray and botie. To this entent all the other souldiers agreed (for thei wer very nedy and glad to have somewhat) and so he caused it to be proclaymed that all his men should be redy at an houre, and that every man shoulde have a white shyrte above his apparel that one in the darke might know another, and when every man was ready and the evenyng approched, Anthony de Leva accordyng to his enterprise set forwarde and was all armed and satte in a chayre caried by iiii. strong persones.

Anthony de Leva encorageth his souldiers.

A Lamisado.

When the citezens of Myllain saw him thus armed and borne in chayre and knew wel that he had a ronning gout and could not stirre him self, they mervayled much of his audacitie, but by the experience of other thinges by hym done, they judged that he entended some great enterprise, but because the nomber of his people was so litle, they doubted the sequele of hys adventure. But for all theyr imagynacyons he wyth hys people secretely issued out of Millain and passed forward without any noyse, and in the mornyng sodaynly set on therle of S. Poule and hys army, so that the erle had no leysure to send for hys ordinaunce, and forward, but was fayne to trust to such as were then wyth hym. And at the fyrst brunte the Almaynes fled, and the French horsemen also, and with a litle fight al the other fled, and as the Erle him self was flyenge over a great diche on horsebacke, he with the erle Guy of Raucon and the lord Castyllyon

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Castyllyon and many other lordes and gentlemen wer taken prisoners and al their vitail, purveyaunce and artillery wer prayes to themperors souldiers whych much refreshed them. After this jorney the French kyng had no army in Italy, wherfore Fraunces Sforcia seing hymself destitute of ayde, made meanes to the Emperor by Pope Clement for the appointment both of the duchy of Myllain and also for his answer of certain treasons, of the which he was accused to themperor, to whom themperor answered that the next sommer he would come into Italy to receive hys Emperial croune, ond then he would take such an order as ryght and equitie should require. This was the ende of the warres begon betwene the king of England and the French king on the one party and the emperor on the other partie, in the xix. yere of the king as you have hearde before. For after thys jorney the lady Margaret duches of Savoy and aunt to themperor, and the lady Loyse duches of Angulesme and mother to the French kyng continually labored for a peace, so that by their meanes a treaty was appointed to be kept at Cambray in June folowyng, as you shal heare after.

Now let us returne to the kyng of England which was in a great scruple of his conscience and not quyet in hys mynd, because the dyvers divines well learned secretely enformed him that he lived in adultry with hys brothers wife to the great peril of his soule, and told him farther that the court of Rome could not dispence with Gods commaundement and precept. These thinges were talked among the common people sith the fyrst day of his mariage as you have heard before, insomuch that now the kynges counsailors advysed hym to know the trueth. Wherfore he lyke a wyse prynce for quyeting of his conscyence called together the best lerned of the realme which were of several opinions, wherfore he thought to know the trueth by indifferent judges lest peraventure the Spaniardes in favor of the quene would say that hys owne subjectes wer not indifferent judges, wherfore he wrote hys cause to Rome because the best clerkes in Christendom wer there, and also he sent to al the universities of Italy and Fraunce and to the great Clerkes of al christendom to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realm a legate to heare the cause debated whiche should be indifferent and of a great judgement. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college

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college of Rome sent thyther Laurence Campeius a prest Cardinal, a man of great wit and experience, but more lerned in the papal law then in divinitie, which was sent as legate into England in the x. yere of this king as you have heard in the sayd yere, and with him was joyned in commission the cardinal of Yorke and legate of England, and so this cardinal Campeius by long jorneyes came into England, and much preparacion was made to receive him triumphantly into London, but he was so sore vexed with the goute, that he refused al suche solempnities, and desired hertely that he might without pompe be conveyed to his lodging for his more quiet and rest, and so the ix. day of October he came from saint Mary Overeys by water to the bishop of Bathes place wythout Temple barre, where he lodged the last tyme he was in England. Where he was visited of the Cardinall of Yorke and divers other estates and prelates. And after he had rested him a season and was somewhat releved of his payne, he was brought to the kinges presence then liyng at Brydewel by the cardinall of yorke and was caryed in a chayer of Crimosin velvet borne betwene iiii. persones, for he was not able to stand, and the cardynall of yorke and he sat both on the ryght hand of the kinges throne, and there one Frauncisco secretary to cardinal Campeius made an eloquent Oracion in the latin tongue, in the whiche he rehersed, first with what crueltie the Emperors soldiers had handeled the pope, what tyranny they had shewed the cardinals and priestes, what sacrilege and spoyle thei had committed in sainct Peters churche, how thei had violat virgins, ravished mennes wives, and in conclusion spoiled, robbed and tormented al the Romaines and inhabitauntes in the cyty of Rome: and farther he shewed what frendship the college of Rome found at the kinges handes and the French kynges in the tyme of the tribulacion, that yf they had not joyned together, the cyty of Rome with al their governors had bene brought to utter ruine and decay, for the which he sayd that pope Clement and al his college of cardinals and the Senators of the cyty with al the cytezens rendered to the king their harty thankes, and promised him their love, favor and amity perpetual. Thys oracion (as concerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth wyth such lamentacyons, such abhominable actes and tyrannies that the most part of the hearers thought it more eloquent then true.

The cardinal Campeius commyng to London.

The oracion.

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To the which Oracion doctor Fox Provost of Cambridge made a discrete answer and as to the fyrst poynt he declared that the king much lamented to heare hys frendes, yea or any other Christen men to be ordered or handeled with such tyranny and oppression: and as touching the second poynt he sayd that the kyng did but the dutie of a christen prince to releve his frendes beyng in captivitie, for the which he wold that the whole citie of Rome shoulde geve thankes to God and not to him. After whiche aunswere made the two legates communed secretely wyth the king a long space and after departed to their lodgyng.

The answere.

Of the comming of this Legate the common people beyng ignorante of the truth and in especial women and other that favored the quene talked largely, and said that the king would for his owne pleasure have another wife and had sent for this legate to be devorsed from his quene, with many folyshe wordes, insomuche, that whosoever spake against the mariage was of the common people abhorred and reproved, which common rumour and folishe communicacions wer related to the king, whertore he lyke a prudent prince and circumspect doer in all his affaires, and willing all men to know his entent and purpose, caused al his nobilitie, Judges and counsaylors with divers other persons to come to his palace of Brydewell on sonday the viii. day of November at after none in his great chamber and there to them sayd as nere as my witte could beare away these wordes folowyng.

The kynges Oracion concernyng his first mariage.

Our trustie and welbeloved subjectes both you of the nobilitie and you of the meaner sort, it is not unknowen to you how that we, both by Goddes provision and true and lawful inheritaunce have reigned over this realme of England almost the terme of xx. yeres. During which time we have so ordered us, thanked be God, that no outward enemy hath oppressed you nor taken any thyng from us, nor we have invaded no realme, but we have had victory and honor, so that we thinke that you nor none of your predecessors never lived more quietly, more wealthy, nor in more estimacion under any of our noble progenitors: But when we remember our mortalitie and that we must die, then we thinke that al our doynges in our lyfe time are clerely defaced and worthy of no memorie if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heire be not knowen at the time of our death, se what mischiefe and trouble

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trouble shal succede to you and your children. The experience ther of some of you have sene after the death of oure noble grandfather kynge Edward the iiii. and some have heard what mischiefe and manslaughter continues in this realme betwene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by the which dissension this realme was like to have bene clerely destroyed. And although it hath pleased almighty God to send us a fayre doughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort and joy, yet it hath ben told us by diverse great clerkes, that neither she is our lawfull doughter nor her mother our lawful wyfe, but that we lyve together abhominably and detestably in open adultry, in so much that when our ambassadeiwas last in Fraunce and mocion was made that the Duke of Orleance should mary our sayd doughter, one of the said chief counsaylors to the French kyng sayd, It wer wel done to know whither she bee the kyng of England his lawfull doughter or not, for well knowen it is that he begat her on his brothers wyfe whych is directly against gods law and his precept. Thinke you my lordes that these wordes touche not by body and soule, thinke you that these doynges do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience and vexe my spirites, yes we doubt not but that yf it wer your owne cause every man would seke remedy, when the peril of your soul and the losse of your inheritaunce is openly layd to you. For this only cause I protest before God and in the worde of a prince, I have asked counsayll of the greatest clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I have sent for this legate as a man indifferent only to know the truth and so to setle my conscience, and for none other cause as God can judge. And as touching the quene, yf it be adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawfull wyfe, there was never thinge more pleasaunt nor more acceptable to me in my lyfe bothe for the discharge and clering of my conscience and also for the good qualities and condicions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the whiche she is discended (as you wel know) she is a woman of moste gentlenes, of most humilitie and buxumnes, yea and of al good qualities apperteignynge to nobilitie, she is wythoute comparyson, as I this xx. yeres almoste have had the true experiment, so that yf I were to mary agayne if the mariage myght be good I would surely chose her above al other women :

The prayse of the Quene.

women: But yf it be determined by judgement that our mariage was against Goddes law and clerely voyde, then I shal not onelye sorowe the departing from so good a Lady and loving companion, but muche more lament and bewayle my infortunate chaunce that I have so long lived in adultery to Goddes great displeasure, and have no true heire of my bodye to inherite this realme. These bee the sores that vexe my minde, these be the panges that trouble my conscience, and for these greves, I seke a remedy. Therfore I require of you al as our trust and confydence is in you to declare to our subjectes our mynde and entent according to our true meaning, and desyre them to pray with us that the very trueth may be knowen for the discharge of our conscience and savyng of our soule, and for the declaracion hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart. THE XX. YERE [1528-29]

To see what countenaunce was made amongest the hearers of this Oracion, it was a straunge sight, for some syghed and sayd nothynge, other were sory to heare the kyng so troubled in his conscience. Other that favored the quene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so every man spake as his hert served him, but the kynge ever labored to know the trueth for discharge of his conscience.

The saiynge of the Legate.

Shortly after this the two Legates came to the quene at the same place of Bridewel, and declared to her how they wer deputed judges indifferent betwene the kyng and her to heare and determin whether the mariage betwene them stode wyth Goddes law or not. When she heard the cause of their comming, no mervel though she wer astonnied for it touched her very nere. And when she had paused a while she answered: Alas my lordes it is now a question whether I be the kynges lawful wife or no? When I have ben maried to him almost xx. yeres and in the meane season never question was made before? Dyvers prelates yet beyng alyve and lordes also and privie counsailors with the kyng at that tyme, then adjudged our mariage lawful and honest, and now to say it is detestable and abhominable, I thinke it great marvel: and in especiall when I consider, what a wyse prince the kinges father was, and also the love and natural affeccion, that kyng Fernando my father bare unto me: I thinke in my self that neither of our fathers, were so uncircumspect,

The quenes aunswere.

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uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so smal imaginacion, but they forsawe what might folowe of our mariage, and in especiall the kyng my father, sent to the Court of Rome, and there after long suite, with great coste and charge, obteigned a license and dispensacion, that I beyng the one brothers wyfe, and paraventure carnally knowen, might without scrupul of conscience, mary wyth the other brother lawfully, which license under lead I have yet to shew, which thinges make me to say, and surely beleve, that oure mariage was both lawfull, good and Godlye: But of thys trouble I onely may thanke you my lorde Cardinal of Yorke, for because I have wondered at your hygh pride and vainglory, and abhorre your volupteous life, and abhominable Lechery, and litle regard your presumpteous power and tiranny, therfore of malice you have kindled thys fyre, and set thys matter a broche, and in especial for the great malice that you beare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambicion, and make you Pope by force, and therfore you have sayed more then once, that you would trouble him and hys frendes, and you have kept hym true promyse, for of al hys warres and vexacions, he only may thanke you, and as for me hys poore aunte and kynswoman, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commyt my cause according to the truth. The cardinal of Yorke excused himself saying, that he was not the begynner, nor the mover of the doubte, and that it was sore agaynst hys wyl, that ever the mariage should come in question, but he sayd that by his superior the Bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Judge to heare the cause, which he sware on his professyon to heare indifferently, but whatsoever was said, she beleved hym not, and so the Legates toke their leave of her and departed. These wordes were spoken in Frenche, and written by Cardinall Campeius secretary, which was present, and by me translated as nere as I could.

The kyng notwithstandyng that hys mynde was unquiete, yet he kept a good countenaunce toward the Quene, with asmuch love, honor and gentlenes, as could be shewed to such a Princes, but he absteyned from her bed, til the truth was tryed, accordyng as his Ghostly counsail had avysed hym, whych was to hym no lytle payne, for surely he loved her as

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as wel, as any Prince might love his wyfe, and she him againe, and therfore it was great pitie, that their mariage was not good.

The more to quicken hys spirites and for recreacion, the kyng kept hys Christmas at Grenewiche, wyth much solempnitie and great plenty of vyandes, and thether came the two Legates, which wer received by twoo Dukes, and diverse Erles, Barons and Gentlemen, to whom the kyng shewed great pleasures, both of Justes, Tornay, Bankettes, Maskes and dysguisinges, and on the xii. day he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinal Campeius, borne in wedlocke, knight, and gave him a coller of *ss.* of golde: but the Quene shewed to them no maner of countenaunce, and made no great joye of nothing, her mynd was so troubled.

Cardinal Campeius sonne made knight.

This doyng in England, was spred over al Christendom by letters and in every region except Spain, and the Emperors dominions, thei adjudged the kyng a wise, a verteous, and a prudent prynce, for triyng out of the truthe, consideryng that the question was not onely doubtful to learned men in Divinitie, but upon the uncertaintie of the same, depended the ruine of his realme, and the succession of the same, whyche was a waightie thing to consider, and no wysedome to let so great a doubt lye undiscussed.

After Christmas and all Lent tyl Easter, was none other thing commoned of, but onely of the kinges mariage, the Archebishop of Cantorbury sent for the famous docters, of both the Universities to Lambeth and ther wer every day disputacions, and commoninges of this matter, and because the king perceived and knewe wel, that the quene was wedded to her owne opinion, and that she wold that he shoulde do nothing wythout counsayl, he bad her chose the best clerkes of his realme, to be of her counsayl, and licensed them to do the best on her part that thei could accordyng to the trueth: then she elected Wylliam Warham Archbishop of Cantorbury, and Nicholas West byshop of Elie, docters of the lawes, and Jhon Fysher byshop of Rochester, and Henry Standish byshop of sainct Asse, docters of divinitie, and many other docters and wel learned men, whiche for a suertie lyke men wel learned, defended her cause as far as learnyng myght defend it, as you shal here in the yere folowynge. This yere was sir James Spenser Maior of London, in whose tyme the watche in London on Midsomer night was laied doune.

THE

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THE XXI. YERE.

The xxi. yere.

IN the beginning of this yere, in a great Hal within the black Friers of London, was ordeined a solempne place for the two legates to set in, wyth two cheyers covered with cloth of gold, and cushyons of the same, and a Dormant table railed before, lyke a solempne court, al covered with Carpettes and Tapissery: on the right hand of the court was hanged a clothe of estate, with a chayer and cushyons of ryche Tyssue, for the kyng, and on the left hand of the courte was set a ryche chayer for the quene. When the place was redy, the kyng and the quene wer ascited by docter Sampson, to appere befor the legates, and the fornamed place, the twentie and eyght day of May, beyng then the morow after the feast of *Corpus Christi*, in proper person, or by their Proctors. At the daye assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses Pillers, Axes, and al the Ceremonyes belonginge to their degrees, and after that thei wer set (the Cardinal of Yorke sitting on the right hand) their Commission was redde, and the cause of their comming thyther openly declared, the effect wherof was, that the Courte of Rome was informed, that great Clerkes and learned men, had enformed the king that his mariage with his brothers wife was unlawful, dampnable and directly against the Law of God, wherfore they wer directed and appoynted by the sayd Court, to be judges in the cause, and to hear what on both parties could be alledged: after this was done the kynge was called by name, for whom two procters appered, then the Quene was called, which wythin short space, beyng accompaignied wyth the foure Bishoppes and other of her counsaill, and a great compaignie of Ladies and gentle women folowing her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obeysaunce, sadly and wyth great gravitie done, she appeled from them, as Judges not competent for that cause, to the court of Rome, and after that done she departed againe. Notwithstanding this appele, the Legates sat wekely, and every day wer argumentes on both partes, and nothing els done.

The Courte at the Blacke Friers.

The Quene appealed.

The kyng whych onely desired, to have an ende in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Court the

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The kynges Oracyon.

the of June, and the Quene also, where he standyng under his cloth of estate, said these wordes in effect folowyng: My lordes, Legates of the Sea Appostolyke, whych be deputied Judges, in thys great and waighty matter, I most hartely beseche you, to ponder my mynde and entent, which only is to have a final ende, for the discharge of my conscience, for every good christen man knoweth what pain, and what unquietnes he suffreth, which hath his conscience greved, for I assure you on myne honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirites, that I can scantely study any thinge, whiche should be proffitable for my Realme and people. And for to have a quietnes in body and soule is my desyre and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have maried for I dare saye that for her womanhode, wysdom, nobilitie, and gentlenes, never Prince had suche another, and therfore yf I would willynglye chaunge I wer not wise: wherfore my suite is to you my lordes at this tyme, to have a spedy ende, accordyng to ryght, for the quietnes of my mynd and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

When the kyng had sayd, the Quene departed withoute any thing saiyng, then she was called, to know whether she would bide by her appeale, or answer there before the Legates, her Procter answered, that she would byde by her appeale, that notwithstanding the Counsailers on both sides every day almoste met, and debated this matter substancially, so that at the last the Divines wer al of opinion, that the mariage was against the lawe of God, yf she were carnallye knowen, by the first brother (which thing she clerely denied) but to that was answered that Prince Arthur her husbande, confessed the act done, when he called for drynke earely in the morning, saiyng that he had bene in Spayne that nyght, whych was a hote countrey, meaning that he had carnally used her, farther, at the tyme of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was wyth childe, and for that cause, the king was deferred from the Title and Creacion of the Prince of Wales, almost halfe a yere, whiche thynge coulde not have bene judged, yf she had not bene carnally knowen.

Also she her selfe caused a bull to be purchased, in the whyche were these wordes, *Vel forsan cognitam*, which is asmuche to say, as peradventure carnally knowen, whiche wordes

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wordes were not in the first Bull graunted by July at her seconde mariage to the kyng, which seconde Bull wyth that clause was only purchased, to dispence with the second Matrimony, although there were carnall copulacion before, whiche Bull neded not to have bene purchased, yf there had bene no carnal copulacion, for then the first Bull had bene sufficient.

When the Divines on her side, were beaten from that ground, then they fel to perswasions of Natural reason, how this should not be undone, for thre causes: One was because if it shoulde be broken, the onely childe of the kyng, shoulde be a Bastarde, whiche were a greate myschiefe to the realme: Secondly, the separacion should be cause of great unkyndnes, betwene her kynred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the continuaunce of so longe space, had made the Mariage honest: These perswasyons wyth manye other, were set furthe by the Quenes Counsayl, and in especiall by the Byshop of Rochester, which stode stiffe in her cause, but yet Gods precept was not answered, wherfore they left that ground and fel to pleading, that the Court of Rome had dispensed wyth that Mariage: To this some lawers sayd, that no yearthely persone is able to dispence wyth the positive lawe of God.

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Divines, and sawe that their opinion for the moste parte, was against the Matrimony, and that now the question was broughte to dyspute the aucthoritie of the Court of Rome, they beganne a litle to quicken: For they considered that if they woulde saye and determyne, that the Courte of Rome myght not dispence in that case, that few men wold thinke, that they might dispence in anye other case, whych shoulde be to theim, a greate losse and hurt. Wherfore they dissimuled the matter and ever told the king, that he should have an end shortly, and tracted furth the tyme with Oracyons and Sophistical argumentes, til August began to approche: then Cardinall Campeius sayd, that they myght not syt after July, tyll October, all whyche season was a vacacyon in thee Courte of Rome, and their court beynge a member of the Courte of Rome, they must nedes do the same: thys saiyng was reported to the kynge, which by that saiyng knewe perfectly, that he shoulde then have no ende, and then he complayned to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, and other nobles of hys

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hys counsayl, how he was delayed, and wylled them at the next Session, to require them to make an end of the cause, and what judgement soever they gave he woulde gladly accept it, for the quyetnes of his conscience.

These noble men came to the place, wher the Legates sat, the xxx. day of August, beyng Friday, where as Cardinal Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and sware on his honor and fayth that he bare to the church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there be, at the end of July, to suspende all causes, till the iiii. day of October, and yf anye cause be treated, and judged in the meane season, that judgement to be clerely voide, and therfore he required the kyng to take pacience, til that time, trusting that then thei should procede toward sentence, so that he shuld be contented: the noble menne desired theim to make an ende, what soever it were, that day or the next day, which was the laste daye of July: but they answered that they coulde sitt no more till October, whyche answere sore displeased the noble menne, whiche the king had sent thether, in so much that Charles Duke of Suffolke, seyng the delay gave a great clappe on the Table wyth his hand and sayd: by the Masse, now I see that the olde sayd saw is true, that there was never Legate nor Cardynall, that dyd good in Englande, and wyth that saiynge all the Temporall Lordes departed to the king, leaving the Legates sitting one lookyng on the other sore astonnied because they saw the Temporall lordes depart in anger.

You may be sure, that the king was not wel content, when he hard of this delay, but yet lyke a wyse Prince, he tooke it paciently, trusting to have an ende in October ensuyng: But when he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he shoulde wyth spede, returne into Italy, and that he provided for his jorney. Then he openly perceived, that the Legates dissimuled the tyme to have the matter in the Courte Rome, for the mainteynaunce of their aucthoritie, knoweyng perfectly, that there he should bee foded furth with argumentes so long, that he should be in maner wery, and also all that tyme, he should bee unquiet in his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had but the seconde care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke, (whom he so hyghly favoured and trusted, and whom he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishopricke

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Archbishopricke of Yorke, and the Bishoprickes of Winchester, Duresme, and the Abbay of Saincte Albones, with manye other greate dignities and promocions, beside the chauncellorshippe of Englande) so unfaithfullye to dyssimule with hym, and not to open the very trueth, which caused hym clerely to cast hym out of hys favor, in the which he had long bene.

When the nobles and prelates perceived, that the kings favor was from the Cardinal sore minished, everye man of the kynges counsail, beganne to laye to hym suche offences, as they knewe by hym, and all their accusacyons were written in a boke, and all their handes sett to it, to the nombre of thirtie and foure, which boke they presented to the kyng. When the kyng saw the boke, he marveyled not a litle, for by the Artycles conteigned in the same, he evidently perceived the high pride and coveteousnes of the Cardinal, and saw openlye wyth what dyssymulacion and clokyng, he had handeled the kinges causes: how he with faire liyng wordes, had blynded and defrauded the kyng, moste untruly, whych accusacyons sore moved the kynge agaynste hym, but yet he kepte it close for a time, and so the kyng rode on his progresse wyth the Quene to Woodstocke. And at the feast of the Nativitie of oure Lady he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanely received, savyng that the kynge made to theim good semblaunce, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the sayd Campeius toke his leave of the king, and then the kyng him conveighed to the chamber dore, and there they departed, and the Cardinal of Yorke also went with his compaignion to Tocester, and on the morowe he came to Grafton to speake with the kyng, which was then ridyng out on hunting, and sent him worde by Henry Norreys, that he should accompaignie Campeius to London, and when the kyng came to London, he would more commen with hym: thus almost dismaied the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his compaignion to Tocester, and so thei came together to London, where to the Cardinal Campeius, wer delivered great rewardes, and so he toke his jorney toward the sea side. Where the kynges counsayl, caused his chestes and cariages to be opened, to se what letters the Cardinall of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome,

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Rome, and ther wer but a few letters found, for they were sent before in post, but in many chestes wer found, old hosen, old coates, and such vile stuffe, as no honest man wold cary to have it, which serch much displeased Campeius, and the more because his coffers wer likewise opened in chepe by the rashenes of a Moyle, as you heard in the tenth yere of this king.

The last tyme the Cardinall came to the kyngs presence.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the crafty Cardinall Campeius, leavyng behynd him hys subtle felowe, whiche after their departinge from the kynge at Grafton, never sawe the kynge, nor came in his presence. This greate Session of the legates, was communed of through Christendome, and in especyall in Spain, and other the Emperors Dominions, which sore grudged that the Quene should bee divorsed from the kyng: and surely the most part of the laye people of Englande, which knew not the lawe of God, sore murmured at the matter, and much the more, because there was a gentle woman in the Court, called Anne Bulleyne, doughter to sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheforde, whom the kyng much favoured in all honestie, and surely none otherwyse, as al the world wel knew after. For this cause the Quenes ladies, gentlewomen, and servauntes largely spake and said that she so entysed the kyng, and brought him in such amours, that only for her sake and occasion, he would be divorsed from his Quene, this was the foolishe communicacion of people, contrary to trueth, as you have heard declared before.

The kinge whiche after twentie yere past, had bene ruled by other, and in especial by the Cardinal of Yorke, began now to be a ruler, and a kinge, yea, a kyng of suche wytte, wisedome and pollicie, that the lyke hath not reygned over this realme, as you shall playnly perceyve here after, aswell for the setting furth of true Doctryne, as also for the augmentacion of his Croune. For when he perceived, howe the Cardinalles had handeled hym, and saw playnly that the lawe of god was clere that he myght not mary his brothers wyfe, he thoughte to sende hys Ambassadours to all the Universities in Fraunce and Italy, to knowe their determinacions, and for that cause he sent Docter Stokesley, and Doctor Fore, two great Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall hear after declared when the matter serveth.

The king continually studiyng on this matter, called a counsayl

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The kynge begynneth to rule.

counsayl of the chief of the nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first daye of October next ensuing, and also somoned a Parliament, to begin the third day of November, then immediatly folowyng, and declared that the same counsail, should devise diverse actes, necessarye and nedefull to bee passed at the sayd Parliament, for reformacion of certain exaccions, done by the clergie to the lay people, to which counsayl and Parliamente, the Cardinal was warned and somoned, whych muche comforted hym, that he outwardly litle abashed: and so he and al the counsayl, came to the counsayl chamber at Westminster, and ther diverse dayes, communed of diverse thynges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinal shewed himself, much more humblier, then he was wont to be, and the lordes shewed themselfes more hygher and straunger, then thei wer wont to bee, but for all that he abashed not his countenaunce, but came into Westminster hal with al his trayne, the first day of the Terme: but none of the kynges servauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sat in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre chamber, for all the lordes and other the kinges counsayl, wer gone to Wynsore to the Kyng, where they enformed the kyng, that all thinges that he had done almoste, by hys power Legantine, were in the case of the Premunire and Provyson: and that the Cardinall had forfected, al his landes, tenementes, goodes and catelles to the kyng: wherfore the kyng willyng ordre to him, accordyng to the ordre of hys lawes, caused hys attorney Christopher Hales, to sue out a Writte of Premunire against him, in the whiche he lycensed hym, to make an attorney.

The Cardynalles pryde abated.

The Cardinall in the Premunire.

And farther the seventene day of November, he sent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, to hys place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of Englande, whiche he was loth to delyver, yf there had bene any remedy, but in conclusion he delivered it, to the two Dukes, whych delivered the same to Docter Tailor Maister of the Rolles, to cary it to the kyng, which so did the next day: and beside this the kyng sent sir William Fitz William knyght of the Garter, and Thresorer of hys house, and Docter Stephin Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to se that no goodes shuld be embesiled out of hys house: and farther ordeined that the Cardinal should remove to Ashire beside Kyngston, there to tary the kinges pleasure, and to have all thinges

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thinges delivered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his olde pompeous and superfluous fashion. For all his goodes wer seazed to the kinges use. When the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolk and Suffolk, with many Erles, Bishoppes and Barons, came into the Starre chamber, the xix. day of October, wher the duke of Norffolk declared that the kynges hyghnes, for diverse and sondry offences, had taken from hym his greate Seale, and deposed him of all offices, and leaste menne might complayn for lacke of Justice, he had appointed him and the Duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lordes, to sit in the Starre chamber, to hear and determin causes indifferently, and that of all thynges the Kinges pleasure and commaundement was, that they should kepe their handes close, from anye rewardes takyng, or maintenaunce, and so that weke they sat in the Starre chamber, and determined causes.

On the day of the same moneth, the Cardinall removed out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse saiyng, that he would he had never borne more, meaning that by hys crosse, that he bare as legate which degre taking was his confusion, as you se openly, and so he toke his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there toke his horse and rode to Asher, where he remaigned til Lent after.

The Cardynalles removynge from Yorke place.

During which tyme, he beyng called on for an answere in the kynges Bench, to the premunire, for gevynge benefyces by prevensyon, in disturbaunce of mens enherytaunce, and diverse other open causes in the premunire, he according to the kynges licence, constituted Jhon Scute and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the lawe his attorneys, which by his owne warrant signed wyth hys hande, confessed all thinges concerning the said suite, for they wer to open to be cloked or hidden, and so judgement was geven, that he shuld forfet al his landes, tenementes, goodes and catalles, and should be out of the kynges proteccion, but for all that the kyng sent him a sufficient proteccion: and of his gentlenes left to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Wynchester, and gave to him plate and stuffe, convenient for his degre, and the bishoprike of Duresme, he gave to docter Tunstal bishop of London, and the Abbey of saynt Albones, he gave to the Prior of Norwiche, and to London he promoted Docter Jhon Stokesley,

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sley, then Ambassador to the Universities, for the kinges mariage, as you have heard before. For all these kyndnes shewed to the Cardinall, yet stil he maligned against the kynge, as you shall perceyve hereafter, by his untrue doynges, which brought him to confusyon.

The twenty and thre day of October, the kyng came to his Manor of Grenewich, and there much consulted wyth his counsayl, for a mete manne to bee his Chauncellour, so that in no wise he were no manne of the Spiritualtie, and so after long debate the kyng resoluted him selfe upon sir Thomas More knyght, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancastre, a manne well learned in the toungues, and also in the Common Lawe, whose wytte was fine, and full of imaginacions, by reason wherof, he was to muche geven to mockinge, whyche was to his gravitie a great blemishe. And then on the Sonday, the twentie and foure daye of the same moneth, the kynge made hym hys Chauncellour, and delyvered him the great Seale, which Lord Chauncellour, the next morow after, was ledde into the Chauncery, by the two dukes of Norffolk and Suffolk, and there sworne, and then the Mace was borne before him.

Sir Thomas More made Chauncellor.

Now let us returne to the treatie of Cambray, which was appointed to be kept the last sommer, for the conclusion of a peace, betwene the Emperour on the one part, and the kyng of England, and the French kyng on the other part, for whiche conclusion there came to Cambrey, the Lady Margaret Duches of Savoy, Aunt to the Emperour, and the Ladye Loyse Duches of Angulesme, and mother to the Frenche kyng, and Docter Tunstall Byshop of London, and after Byshoppe of Duresme, and sir Thomas More knight, after made Chauncellour of Englande, and diverse other for the kinge of Englande, all these mette there in the beginning of July, accompanied with diverse great Princes and Counsailers, on every parte, and after long debating on bothe sides, there was a good conclusion taken, the fyfth day of August, in the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrill, should stande in hys ful strength and vertue, savyng the thirde and fourth, and the leventh and fourtenth articles, which touch the Duchie of Burgoin, and other lordeshippes.

Item, it was agreed that the French kyng should have hys

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hys children delivered again, paiyng to the Emperour two Myllyons of Crounes of gold, wherof he should paye at the delivering of the chyldren, twelve hundred thousand Crounes.

Item, that the Frenche kyng shoulde acquite the Emperor, against the kynge of Englande, of foure skore and tenne thousande Crounes, whiche the Emperour ought to the king of England, and the kyng of Englande to delyver all suche bondes and gages as he had of the emperoures.

Item, as touching the remnant, which was five hundred and tenne thousand Crounes, the Emperor shuld have xxv. thousande crounes rent yerely, for the which he should have the landes, of the Duches of Wandosme, liyng in Flaunders, and Brabant bounde.

Item, that Flaunders and diverse other countreys, should not be hold in chief, nor have resort to the croune of Fraunce.

Item, that the realme of Napels, the Duchy of Millain, and the countie of Ast, should for ever remain to the Emperour.

Item, that the French kynge should wythdrawe all such souldiers as he had, out of Italy.

Item, that the Ladye Elianor should be brought into Fraunce, wyth the French kinges chyldren, and in time convenient shoulde be maried to the French king.

Item, that the French kyng should ayde the Emperor wyth twelve Gallies to go into Italy.

Item, that al prysoners on both parties should be acquited.

Item, that the French kyng should not ayde Robert de la Marche, against the Bishop of Luke.

Item, that al the goodes moveable and unmoveable, of Charles late Duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heyres, they paiyng to lord Henry, Marques of Dapenete, and erle of Nassaw, the lord Chamberlayne to the Emperor, tenne thousande Ducates, which he lent to the sayed Duke of Burbon.

Item, that Jhon erle of Panthieure, should be remitted to all such goodes, as were Erle Rene his fathers.

Item, the Lord Lawrence de Gorowod, great Maister to the Emperour, should be restored to the lordshippes of Chalmount, and Montevalle, whiche he bought of the Duke of Burbon, or elles to have hys money agayne.

Item,

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Item, Philip de Chalon Prince of Orenge and Viceroy of Napels to be restored to al his landes in Burgoone.

Item, that the Duches of Wandosme, and Loys Earle of Navers should have al such ryght and accions, as they shoulde have had, before the warre began.

In the Emperors countreis, when al thinges were written, sealed and finished, there was a solempne Masse song in the cathedral church of Cambrey, the two ladies Ambassadors of the king of Englande, sittynge in greate estate, and after Masse the peace was proclaymed, betwene the thre Princes, and *Te deum* song, and money cast to the people, and greate fires made throughe the citie. The same night the Frenche kyng came into Cambrey, wel and nobly accompanied and saluted the Ladies, and to them made diverse bankettes, and then al persones departed into their countrey glad of this concord.

The womennes peace.

This peace was called the womennes peace, for because that not withstandyng this conclusyon, yet neyther the Emperor trusted the Frenche kyng, nor he neyther trusted nor loved him, and their Subjectes, were in the same case. Thys Proclamacyon was proclaymed solempnely by Herauldes, wyth trompettes of the citie of London, which Proclamacion, much rejoysed the Englysh Merchauntes, repairing into Spain Flaunders, Brabant, Zelande, and other the Emperors dominions, for duryng the warres, Merchauntes wer evyl handeled on both parties which caused them to be desirous of peace.

Cutbart Tunstal bishop of London, bought Newe Testamentes to burne.

Here is to be remembred, that at this present time, William Tindale had newly translated and emprinted the new Testament in Englysh, and the Bishop of London not pleased with the translacion therof, debated with himself, how he might compasse and devise to destroy that false and erronious translacion, (as he sayd). And so it happened that one Augustine Packington, a Mercer and Merchaunt of London, and of a great honestie, the same tyme was in Andwarp, where the Bishop then was, and this Packyngton was a man that highly favored Wylliam Tyndale, but to the bishop utterly shewed him self to the contrary. The bishop desirous to have hys purpose brought to passe, commoned of the New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bie them. Packington then hearyng that he wished for, sayd unto

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unto the byshop, my Lord, yf it be your pleasure, I can in this matter doo more I dare saye, then moste of the Merchauntes of England that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers, that have bought theim of Tindale, and have theim here to sel, so that yf it be your lordeshippes pleasure, to pay for them (for otherwyse I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for theim) I wil then assure you, to have every boke of them, that is imprinted and is here unsolde. The Bishop thinking that he had God by the too, when in dede he had (as after he thought) the Devell by the fiste, said, gentle maister Packington, do your diligence and get them and with al my hart I will paye for them, whatsoever thei cost you, for the bokes are erronious and naughtes, and I entend surely to destroy theim all, and to burne theim at Paules Crosse. Augustine Packington came to Willyam Tyndale and sayed, Willyam I knowe thou arte a poor man, and hast a hepe of newe Testamentes and bokes by thee for the whiche thou hast bothe indaungered thy frendes, and beggered thy self, and I have now gotten the a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of al that thou hast, if you thynke it so proffitable for your self. Who is the Merchaunt said Tindale? The bishoppe of London saied Packyngton, O that is because he wil burne them saied Tyndale, ye Mary quod Packington, I am the gladder said Tyndale, for these twoo benefites shall come thereof, I shal gett moneye of hym for these bokes, to bring my self out of debt (and the whole world shall cry out upon the burning of Goddes worde). And the overplus of the money that shal remain to me, shal make me more studious, to correct the sayd New Testament, and so newly to Imprint the same once again, and I trust the second wyl much better lyke you, then ever did the first: And so forwarde went the bargain, the byshop had the bokes, Packyngton the thankes, and Tyndal had the money.

Augustine Packyngton the Bishop of Londons merchaunt.

Afterward, when mo new Testamentes wer imprinted, they came thicke and threfold into England, the bishop of London hearyng that stil there were so many Newe Testamentes abroad, sent for Augustin Packington and sayd unto him: Sir how commeth this, that ther are so many New Testamentes abroad, and you promised and assured me that you had bought al? then said Packington, I promes you I boughte al that then was to be had: but I perceive they

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they have made more sence, and it wil never be better, as long as they have the letters and stampes, therfore it wer best for your lordeshyp, to bye the stampes to, and then are you sure : the byshop smiled at him and said, wel Packyngton well, and so ended this matter.

George constantyne.

Shortly after it fortuned one George Constantine to be apprehended by sir Thomas More, which then was lord Chauncellor of England, of suspicion of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng with More after diverse examinacions of dyverse thinges, emong other, Maister More said in this wise to Constantine. Constantine I would have the plain with me, in one thing that I wyl aske of the, and I promes the I will shew the favor, in all the other thinges, wherof thou art accused to me. There is beyonde the sea Tyndale, Joye and a great many mo of you, I know they cannot lyve without helpe, some sendeth theim money and succoureth theim, and thy self beyng one of them, haddest part therof, and therfore knowest from whence it came. I pray the who be thei that thus helpe theim ? My lord quod Constantine, wil you that I shal tel you the truth ? Yea I pray the quod my lord. Mary I will quod Constantine, truly quod he it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed emonge us, a great deale of moneye in Newe Testamentes to burne theim, and that hath and yet is our onely succour and comfort. Nowe by my trouth quod More, I thinke even the same, and I sayd so much to the bishop, when he went about to bie them.

While this treatie was thus in communicacion at Cambrey, themperor which knew that his people lacked ayd in Italy, and also perceived that the people in Germany and Italy, had him not in suche honor as they would, if he wer once crouned Emperor, for in al writings thei called him only Charles elected Emperor, wherfore he determined to go into Italy with a great puyssaunce, bothe to receive his Imperiall Croune, and also to ayde his people, which there remayned, and so accompaignied with many Princes and noble men of Spayne, and men of war, he toke ship at Barcilona, and sailed to Geane, wher he was received with the seigniorie of the cyty, with great triumphe and honor, and great presentes geven to him. Pope Clement hearyng that themperor was come into Italy, with al hys

The Pope came to Bonony.

Cardinalles

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Cardinalles and whole court came to his citie of Bononie, and there taryed the Emperors comming.

While the Emperor lay at Geane, thither came to him diverse great Princes of Italy, with great powers, and when al thinges wer redy he set forward in good ordre of battayl toward Bononie, and in every toune he was received, and presented wyth great giftes and feasted, and so by long jorneys he came nere to Bononie, where firste met with him, al the Clergie of the Citie with procession, then all the universitie in ther habites, al on horsebacke, then came all the Children of the citie, in white sattin fringed with gold, after them the marchauntes of the citie, al in crimosyn Damaske, then folowed the potestates and governors of the citie all in Crimosyn velvet, and within a myle of the citie there met hym foure and twentie Cardinalles: with this triumph themperor was conveighed to the Cathedrall church, wher on the steppes, of the west dore in a chair sat Pope Clement, and then the Emperour a lighted and kyssed his fote and then they embrassed together, and went into the churche together and after went in to the pallace where they wer lodged both, and daily kepte great counsayles together. While the Cardinall laye at Bononie, ther came to hym Fraunces Sforse Duke of Millane, to excuse hym selfe of all thynges to hym objected, and by muche entreatyng at the Popes request he pardoned hym hys offence, and restored hym to his dignitie and possession, paiyng to hym nine hundreth thousand Ducates, and tyll they wer paied, the Castle of Millayne, and the toune of Crome, shoulde abide in themperours possession. After this agrement, the Emperoure sent for Anthony de leva, and made him capitayne of his ordinaunce, and so now the duchy of Millayne was brought to quiet. In the same season the kyng of England sent sir Nicholas Carew knight master of hys horses, and Doctor Sampson to Bononie for the ratificacion of the league concluded at Cambray, to the performance wherof the Emperour was solemplie sworne, and so the Ambassadours departed: lyke wyse themperour sent into England, Peter Lord of Rosebec, which lykewise sawe the kyng of England sworne to performe the same.

Themperoure kisseth the Popes fete.

According to the somons the kyng of England began his high court of parliament, the third day of Novembre. On which day he came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there

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there he and his nobles put on there robes of parliament, and so came to the blacke Freers churche, wher a Masse of the holy ghost was solemplie song by the kynges Chappell, and after the Masse, the kyng with al the Lordes of the parliament, and Commons which were somoned to appere at that day came into the parliament chamber, wher the kyng sat in his Throne or seate royall, and Sir Thomas More his Chauncelor standyng on the right hand of the

An Oracion.

kyng behinde the barre made an eloquent Oracion, declarynge that lyke as a good shepard whiche not alonely kepeth and attendeth well his shepe, but all so forseeth and provideth for althyng, which either may be hurtful or noysome to his flocke, or may preserve and defende the same agaynst all peryles that may chaunce to come, so the kyng whiche was the sheaperd, ruler and governour of his realme, vigilantly forseyng thinges to come considered how divers lawes before this tyme wer made nowe by longe continuaunce of tyme and mutacion of thinges, very insufficient, and unperfight, and also by the frayl condicion of man, divers new enormities were sprong amongest the people, for the whiche no law was yet made to reforme the same, which was the very cause why at that tyme the kyng had somoned his high court of parliament: and he resembled the kyng to a shepard, or heard man for this cause, for yf a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a richeman, yf a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honorable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people and the numbre of his flocke, then he is a ruler, a governor of might and puissaunce, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shepe, commeth the name of a shepherd: and as you se that emongest a great flocke of shepe some be rotten and fauty which the good sheperd sendeth from the good shepe, so the great wether which is of late fallen as you all knowe, so craftely, so scabedly, ye and so untruly juggled wyth the kynge, that all men must nedes gesse and thinke that he thought in him self, that the had no wit to perceive his craftie doyng, or els that he presumed that the kyng woulde not se nor know his fraudulent Juggeling and attemptes: but he was deceived, for his graces sight was so quicke and penetrable, that he saw him, ye and saw through hym, both with in and without, so that all thing to him was open, and accordyng to his desert he hath had a gentle correction,

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correction, which smal ponishment the kynge will not to be an example to other offendoures, but clerly declareth that whosoever here after shall make like attempt to commit like offence, shall not escape with lyke ponyshment: and because you of the common house be a grosse multitude, and cannot speake all at one time: Therefore the kynges pleasure is, that you shall resorte to the nether house, and there emonge your selfes accordyng to the olde and auncient custome to chose an able person to be your common mouth and speaker, and after youre election so made to advertise his grace therof, which wyl declare to you his pleasure what day he wil have him present in this place.

Thomas Audelei chosen speaker.

After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house, and they chose for there speaker Thomas Audeley Esquier and attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster, and the same day was the parliament adjourned to Westminster. On the sixt day of the same moneth the kyng came in to the parliament chambre and all the Lordes in there robes, and ther the commons of the nether house presented there speker, which there made an eloquent Oracion which consisted in two poynctes, the first poynct was that he muche praysed the kyng for his equitie and Justice, mixed with mercy and pitie, so that none offence was forgotten and left unponished nor in the punishment the extremitie nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which shuld be a cause to bridel all men from doinge lyke offences, and also a comforte to offendors to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliacion.

An oracion.

The second poinct was, that he disabled himselfe, both for lacke of wyt learnyng and discrecion to so high an office, beseching the kynge to cause his comons to resort eftsones to ther common house, and ther to chose an other speaker for that parliament.

To this the kyng (by the mouth of the Lord Chauncelor) answered that where he disabled hym selfe in wit and learnyng, his awne ornate oracion there made testified the contrary, and as touchyng his discrecion and other qualities, the kyng hym selfe had wel knowen him and his doynges, sith he was in his service, to be both wise and discrete, and so for an hable man he accepted hym, and for the speaker he hym admitted.

When the commons were assembled in the nether house, thei

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thei began to common of their grefes wherwith the spiritualtie had before tyme grevously oppressed them, both contrarie to the lawe of the realme, and contrarie to all righte, and in especial thei were sore moved with sixe greate causes.

1 The first for the excesse fynes, which the ordinaries toke for probat of Testamentes, inso muche that sir henry Guilford knight of the gartir and comptrollor of the kynges house, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other beynge executors to Sir Wyllyam Compton knight paied for the probate of his wil to the Cardinall and the Archbishop of Cauntorburie a thousand Marke sterlyng: after this declaracion were shewed so many extorcions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to muche to rehearse.

2 The second cause was the great polling and extreme exaccion, whiche the spirituall men used in takyng of corps presentes or mortuaries, for the children of the defunct should al dye for hunger and go a beggynge rather then thei would of charitie geve to them the sely kow which the dead man ought yf he had but only one, suche was the charitie then.

3 The third cause was, that priestes beyng surveiors, stuardes and officers to Bishoppes, Abbotes, and other spirituall heddes, had and occupied Fermes, Graunges, and grasing in every contrey, so that the pore husbandmen coulde have nothynge but of them, and yet for that they should pay derely.

4 The fourth cause was that Abbotes, Priors and spirituall men kept Tanne houses, and bought and soulde woll, clothe and all maner of marchaundise as other temporall marchauntes dyd.

5 The fift cause, was because the spiritual persones promoted to greate benefices and havyng there livyng of ther flocke, were liyng in the courte in lordes houses, and toke al of the parishoners, and nothing spent on them at al, so that for lacke of residence both the poore of the parishe lacked refreshyng, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching, and true instruccion of Gods worde, to the greate perell of there soules.

6 The sixt cause was to se one priest beyng litle learned to have tenne or twelve benefices and to be residen on none, and to know many well learned scholers in the universitie which

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which wer able to preche and teache to have nether benefice nor exhibicion.

These thynges before this time might in nowise be towched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heretike, or lese al that he had, for the bishoppes were chauncelors, and had all the rule about the kyng, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thyng contrary to their proffit, or commoditie.

But now when God had illumined the eies of the kynge, and that ther subtell doynges was once espied: then men began charitably to desyre a reformacion, and so at this Parliament menne began to shewe there grudges.

Where upon the Burgesses of the Parliament, appoincted suche as were learned in the law beyng of the common house, to drawe one bill of the probates of Testamentes, a nother for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none residence, pluralities, and takyng of Fermes by spiritual men.

The learned men toke muche payne, and firste set furthe the byll of Mortuaries, whiche passed the common house, and was sent up to the Lordes.

To this byll, the spirituall Lordes made a fayre face, saiynge that surely priestes and curates toke more then they should, and therfore it were well done to take some reasonable ordre, thus thei spake because it touched them litle.

But with in two daies after was sent up the bill concerning probates of Testamentes, at the which the Archbishop of Cauntorburie in especiall, and all other bishoppes in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched ther proffite, in so much as Doctor Jhon Fisher bishop of Rochester, saied openlie in the Parliament chambre these woordes, my Lordes, you se daily what billes come hither from the common house and all is to the distruction of the churche, for Godes sake se what a Realme the kyngdome of Boheme was, and when the Churche went doune, then fell the glory of the kyngdome, now with the Commons is nothing but doune with the Church, and all this me semeth is for lacke of faith only.

The saiyng of J. Fisher B. of Rochester.

When these wordes were reported to the Commons of the nether house, that the bishop should say that all ther doynges were for lacke of faith, thei toke the matter grevously, for thei Imagined that the bishop estemed them as Heretikes, and so by his slaunderous wordes would have perswaded the temporall

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temporall Lordes to have restrained ther consent from the saied twoo billes, whiche they before had passed, as you have hard before.

A complaynt made to the kyng.

Wherfore the Commons after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the Parliament to the kinges highnes, with a grevous complaynt, agaynst the bishop of Rochester, and so on a day when the kyng was at layser, Thomas Audeley the speaker for the commons and thirtie of the chief of the common house, came to the kynges presence in his palace at Westminster, whiche before was called Yorke place and there very eloquently declared what a dishonour to the kyng and the realme it was to say that they which wer elected for the wysest men of all the Sheres, Cities, and boroughes with in the realme of England shoulde be declared in so noble and open presence to lacke faith, whyche was equivalent to say, that thei were Infidelles and no Christians, as ill as Turkes or Sarasins, so that what payne or studie so ever thei toke for the common wealth, or what actes or lawes so ever thei made or stablished, shulde be taken as lawes made by Panyms and hethen people, and not worthy to be kept by christian men: wherfore he most humbly besought the kynges highnes, to call the saied byshop before hym and to cause him to speake more discretly of such a nomber as was in the common house.

The kyng was not well contented with the saiyng of the bishop, yet he gently answered the speaker, that he would sende for the bishop and send them worde what answere he made, and so they departed agayn. After this the kyng sent for the archebishope of Cauntorburie and sixe other bishopes, and for the bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to hym the grudge of the commons, to the which the byshop answered that he ment the doinges of the

The bishops excuse.

Bohemians was for lacke of faith, and not the doynges of them that were in the common house, which saiyng was confirmed by the bishopes being present, whiche had him in greate reputacion, and so by that only saiyng the kyng accepted his excuse and therfore sent woord to the comons by sir William Fitz william knight treasorer of his house-houlde, which blind excuse pleased the commons nothyng at all.

After this divers assemblies wer kept betwene certein of the lordes and certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates

probates of Testamentes, and the mortuaries: the temporaltie laied to the spiritualtie ther awne lawes and constitucions, and the spiritualtie sore defended them by prescripcion and usage, to whome an answere was made by a gentleman of Greyes Inne: the usage hath ever ben of theves to robbe on shoters hill, ergo is it lawfull? with this answere the spirituall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men stode still by there saiynges, in so muche the sayed gentle man sayd to the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, that both the exaccion of probates of Testamentes, and the takynge of Mortuaries, as they were used were open robbery and theft: after long disputacion, the temporall lordes began to leane to the commons, but for all that, the billes remayned unconcluded a while. THE XXI. YERE [1529-30]

In the meane season, there was a bill assented by the Lordes, and sent doune to the commons, theffect wherof was, that the whole realme by the saied acte, did release to the kynge, all suche somes of money as he had borowed of them at the loane, in the fiftene yere of his raigne (as you have hard before) this byll was sore argued in the common house but the moste parte of the commons were the kynges servauntes, and the other were so labored to by other, that the bill was assented to. The loane released.

When this release of the loane was knowen to the commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake ill of the hole Parliament, for almoste every man counted it his dette, and reconed suerly of the payment of the same, and therfore some made there wylles of the same, and some other dyd set it over to other for debt, and so many men had losse by it, whiche caused them sore to murmur, but ther was no remedy. The Kynge lyke a good and a discrete Prince, seynge that hys commons in the Parliament house had released the loane, entendyng some what to requite the same, graunted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayne greate offences and debtes only xcept: also he aided them for the redresse of there greves against the spiritualtie, and caused twoo newe bylles to be made indifferently, bothe for the probate of Testamentes and mortuaries, whiche billes were so resonable that the spyrituall Lordes assented to them all though thei were sore againste there myndes, and in especial the probate of Testamentes sore

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sore displeased the Byshopes, and the mortuaries sore displeased the persones and Vicars.

After these Actes, thus agreed, the Commons made another Acte for pluralities of benefices, none residence, biyng and sellyng and takyng of fermes by spirituall persones, which acte so displeased the spiritualtie that the priestes railed on the commons of the common house, and called them heretikes and scismatikes, for the whych diverse priestes wer ponished.

This acte was sore debated above in the parliament chambre, and the Lordes spirituall woulde in nowise consent. Wherefore the Kyng perceiving the grudge of his commons, caused eight lordes and eight of his commons to mete in the starre chambre at an after none, and there was sore debatyng of the cause, in so muche that the temporall Lordes of the upper house, whiche were there, toke parte with the Commons, agaynst the spirituall Lordes and by force of reason caused them to assent to the byll with a litle qualifiyng, whyche byll the nexte daye was wholy a greed to in the lordes house, to the great rejoysynge of the lay people, and to the greate displeasor of the spirituall persones.

Duryng this Parliament was brought doune to the commons, the boke of articles whiche the Lordes had put to the Kynge agaynst the Cardinall, the chief articles were these.

First that he without the kynges assent had procured to be a Legat, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all bishopes and spirituall persons.

Item, in all writynges which he wrote to Rome or any other foreyn Prince, he wrot *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my Kyng, as who woulde say that the Kyng were hys servaunt.

Item, that he hath sclaundered the church of England in the courte of Rome, for his suggestion to be legate was to reforme the churche of Englande, whiche as he wrote was *Facta in reprobum censum.*

Item, he without the kynges assent, caried the Kynges great Seale, with hym into Flaunders when he was sent Ambassad to the Emperoure.

Item, he without the kynges assent, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassado, knighte, to conclude a league betwene the Kyng and the Duke of Farrar, without the kynges knowlege.

Item,

Item, that he havyng the Frenche pockes presumed to come and breth on the kyng.

Item, that he caused the Cardinalles hat to be put on the Kynges coyne.

Item, that he woulde not suffer the kynges clarke of the market, to sit at Sainct Talbons.

Item, that he had sent innumerable substaunce to Rome, for the obteinyng of his dignities to the greate enpovrishment of the realme.

These Articles with many more, red in the common house, and signed with the Cardinalles hande, was confessed by hym, and also there was shewed a writyng sealed with his Seale, by the whiche he gave to the kyng all his movables and unmovables.

On the day of the concepcion of oure Lady, the kyng at Yorke place at Westminster, in the parliament tyme created the vicount Rochforth Earle of Wilshire, and the Vicount Fitzwater, was created Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Hastynges, was created Earle of Huntyngton.

When althynges were concluded in the Parliament house, the kyng came to the Parliament chambre the seventene day of Decembre, and there put his royall assent, to althynges done by the Lordes and commons, and so proroged his court of Parliament, tyll the next yere.

After the Parliament was thus ended, the kyng removed to Grenewiche and ther kept his Christemas with the quene in great triumph: with great plentie of viaundes, and diverse disguisynges and Enterludes, to the greate rejoysyng of his people.

You have harde before how the Emperoure and the Pope was at Bononie, wher the Emperour made great preparacion for the solempnifyng of his coronacion, which was appointed to be of Saincte Mathias day, or the foure and twentie day of February, on whych day, he was borne, and that day also the French kyng was taken, and because that that day had ben ever fortunate to hym he appointed his coronacion on that daye: he apointed it also at that place, because he woulde the soner passe into Almayne, to appece suche striefes and debates as was risen betwene the princes there.

And so whan the day came and every thing was redy, he was crowned Emperor, in the churche of S. Peter, in the citie of Bononi by pope Clement the VIII. with al the ceremonies

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ceremonies therto belonging. At this coronacion were present the Dukes of Savoy and Millayn, duke Frederick brother to the Palantine of Rine, and the deputies to all the seven Electors and the moste parte of all the nobles of Italye, and Spayne. Thys coronacion was done with great solemnities, there was feastyng, justyng and torney, and all thinges that might sounde to honoure was there shewed, bothe in apparell, and viaunde: and after that the Emperoure and the Pope, with the hole college of Cardinalles, and al the noble men beyng present rode in procession through the hie stretes of Bononi, with suche a pompe and triumphe as had not bene sene in Italye manye yeres before.

While the Emperoure lay thus at Bononie, the kynge of Englande was advertised by hys Ambassadoures, whiche he had sent to divers universities for the assolvyng of the doubt concernyng his mariage, that the saied universities were agreed and had clerely concluded, that the one brother to mary the other brothers wyfe, carnally knowne, was directlie agaynst Gods lawe, and that the Pope nor the courte of Rome could in no wyse dispence with the same.

Wherefore the kyng knowyng themperour and the bishop of Rome to be together at Bononie, determined to send thether a solempne ambassade, both to declare to them the law of God, and the determinacion of the universities, and also to require the bishop of Rome to do Justice accordyng to the treuth, and also to shewe to the Emperoure that the kyng did not move this matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the quene his awnt, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnes of his Realme.

When this purpose was agreed by the kynges counsayle, the kynge appoincted Sir Thomas Bulleyne late created Earle of Wylshier and Doctor Stoksley elected bishop of London, and Doctor Edward Lee, his almoner, two great Clarkes, for his ambassadours and with them he sent divers Doctors both of the lawe and divinitie. These Ambassadoures made greate preparacion, and about the begynnyng of Februarie thei set forward, and so muche thei travailed that they came to Savoy wher the Duke in the fayre toune of Cambrey, caused them honorably to be received and fested.

So they passed the Mountaynes, and so through the Duchie of Millain and by long jorneis thei came to Bononie in lent, wher

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wher they wer honorably received by the maister of the Emperoures house, and divers Lordes and Gentlemen belongyng to the Pope, and within short space the sayed Ambassadoures were firste conveighed to the Pope, and there declared ther message and shewed the determinacion of the great Doctors and famous universities. Pope Clement whyche was a man of no learnyng but of a great wit made to them a gentle answere, and sayed that he woulde here the matter disputed when he came to Rome and accordyng to right he woulde do Justice. But hys entent was all contrarie, for he knewe well that yf he shoulde geve sentence, that Pope July coulde not dispence wyth the breache of Godes lawe, that then the aucthoritie of the Courte of Rome woulde litle be regarded, and also he feared the Emperours displeasure yf he shoulde geve sentence againste his awnte, so that for feare of losinge aucthoritie, and of the Emperours displeasure, Bishop Clement, durste not Judge accordynge to Goddes lawe. After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperour, whyche them gently receyved, and after they had done their message, he answered them that he in no wyse woulde be agaynst the lawe of God, and yf the Courte of Rome woulde adjudge that the matrimonie were not good, he would be content, but he thought all otherwyse, for he solicited the Pope and all the Cardinalles whych were hys frendes to stande by the dispensacion, whyche he judged to be as strong as Goddes lawe. After this answere they toke ther leave of the Emperour, whyche the nexte weke after departed out of Bononie toward Almayne in good ordre of battail, he him selfe in gilt harnes and hys nobles in white harnes wyth ryche cotes and trappers very curiously besene.

The Popes answer.

After that the Emperour was gone out of Bononie, the Ambassadoures of England toke there leave of the Byshoppe of Rome, whyche went toward Rome agayne, and retorned toward Englande, through the Duchy of Millayn, whiche was received by the Earle Lodovick, great counsaylor to the Duke of Millayn, whych Earle conducted them through the whole Duchie of Millayne, and paied all their charges by the Dukes commaundement. And when these Ambassadors wer passed the mountaynes, they received letters from the kyng, which appointed the Earle of Wilshire to go ambassade to the French kyng, whych then lay at Burdeaux makynge

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makynge provisions for money for the redemynge of his children: and the Bishop of London was appoyncted to go to Padua and other universities in Italye to know ther opinions in the kynges cace, and the kynges almoner was appoincted to retorne into England, and so he dyd, thus was the ende of this Ambassad.

You have hard before how the Cardinall was attainted in the premunire and how he was put out of the office of the chauncelor and laye at Asher: In this Lent season the kynge by the advice of his counsayle licenced hym to go into his diocesse of Yorke, and gave him commaundement to kepe hym in his diocesse and not to returne southwarde without the kynges speciall licence in writyng.

Thomas cromwell came in to the kynges service.

So he made great provision to go Northwarde and appareled his servauntes newly and bought many costely thinges for his houshould and so he might wel inough, for he had of the kynges gentlenes the bishopprickes of Yorke and Winchester, which wer no smal thinges, but at this time divers of his servauntes departed from him to the kynges service, and in especiall Thomas Crumwel one of his chief counsayle and chefe doer for him in the suppression of abbeis. After that al thinges necessarie for his jornay wer prepared, he toke his jorney nortward til he came to South wel whiche is in his dioces and their he continued this yere ever grudgyng at his fall as you shall here after: but the landes whiche he had geven to his Colleges in Oxforde and Ypswych, were now come to the kinges handes, by his atteinder in the premunire, and yet the kyng of his gentlenes and for favour that he bare to good learnyng erected agayne the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles College, he called it the kynges College, and endewed it with faire possessions, and put in newe statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ypswich was thought to be nothing proffitable, therefore he lefte that dissolved.

The last Somer while the peace was treated at Cambray as you have hard before, Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, recovered certayne tounes which the Turkes had taken from hym in Hungary, and put to flighte his ennemy Jhon the Vainoda, whiche falsly named hym selfe Kynge of Hungary. This Vainoda destitute of all succoure fled to Sultan Soliman the great Turke, desiryng hym of succor, to recover Hungry a gaine. The Turke being glad to have

an

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an occasion to distroy Hungry, assembled a puissaunt army, and entred into Hungry, and made proclamation that what toune or Citie woulde not obey kynge Jhon as ther kyng, should be put to fire and sworde. This proclamacion so fearid the Hungarians, that all in maner yelded them selfe subjectes to the Vainoda, the citie of Bude onely except: whiche at the last was yelden, by composicion that thei should depart with bag and baggage, but for al there safe conduit signed withe the great Turkes hand, they wer firste robbed of the Janizeres, and after that shamefully slayn.

When the Turke had thus Bude in possession, he left there the Vainoda, and Lewes great bastard sonne to the duke of Venice, with five thousand fotemen, and two thousand horsmen, and he with all haste entered into Austrice, wher his people committed such crueltie and tirannye, as never hath been hard nor written, for of some thei put out the eies, of other they cut of the noses and eares, of other thei cut of the privy members, of women thei cut of the pappes, and ravished Virgins and of women great with child, thei cut ther bellies and brent the children, beside this, as thei passed thei brent corne, trees, howses, and al that woulde be brent to make the contry desolate, and at the last the two and twentie day of Septembre, the turkes armie came nye to Vienne, a riche and a famous Citie in Austrice.

Crueltie of the Turkes.

The fame was that he had twoo hundreth and fiftie thousande men in his armie, and five and twentie thosande tentes in the sighte of the Citie.

At the beginnyng of the siege certein Christian men were taken of the Turkes, which Turkes cut of the heddes of foure lepers in a lazer cote, without the citie and put them upon poles, and made christen prisoners present them to the great turck, which therof toke great joy: of the which prisoners he released certain and bad them go to the captaynes and to tell them that yf they would yeld the citie to him, they should depart wyth bag and bagage, and yf thei would kepe it by force, he woulde suerly have it and put them all to the sworde. Now in the citie was captayn duke Phillip of Bavier, Earle Palantine of the Rine, and nephew to the Palsgrave elector, a young man, but of noble corage, and with him were twentie thousand Almaynes, and two thousand horsemen, which nothing feared the Turkes threatnynges. The

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The Turke perceivyng ther boldnes bent his grete ordinaunce, which were thre hundreth peces agaynst the walles, and commaundyd the towne to be assauted: the Turkes gave a great assaut, but the christen men valiantly defended them, so that the Turkes were compelled to fle, and many of them were slaine.

The fourth daye of Octobre, the Turke bent all his Ordinaunce against the wal which so shoke the wall that all men within supposed that the walles would have fallen doune, but thei did litle harme, which was sone amended. The sixt day of Octobre, eight thousand christen men issued out of the toune, and came wher the Turkes miners wer workyng and slew a great nombre and destroyed the mines. The same day the Turkes gave a greate assaute to the citie: the christyan men valiantly them defended, and threwe doune great logges and barres of Iron, and slewe many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assauted the citie a leven tymes, and somany tymes they wer beten away, but the great and terrible assaut was the twelve day of Octobre, at which assaut the christyan men so valiantly defended them selfe and slewe and hurte so many of the Turkes that after that day, for no commandement that the Turke could geve, they woulde nomore geve assaute.

The Turke perceived well bothe the strength of the Citie and the corage of the capitaines with in, and also the winter there was muche more colder then in his contreys, which sore troubled hym and his people, wherfore he called his counsaill and concluded to breake up his siege and to departe, and so the fouretene day of Octobre he shot great stones into the citie al day till night: and a boute tenne of the cloke in the night he caused his tentes to be taken up, and set fire on the strawe, and suche other stuffe, and so removed all his armie, towarde Bude, savinge fiftie thousande horsemen whiche taried all the next daye behynde, cariyng with hym a greate nombre of Christyan prisoners, which he put to the mynes and suche other vile service.

The numbre of the turkes that died.

At this siege the Turke lost by Murder, Sicknes, and could, above fourescore thousand men, as one of his bassates dyd afterwarde confesse.

Thus was the citie of Vienne defended agaynst the greate Turke, and all his power, whiche was to him a greate displeasure, and in especially because he never beseged citie before,

before, but either it was yelden, or taken, of the tyme of this siege a metrician made these verses. THE XXI. YERE [1529-30]

Cæsar in Italiam quo venit Carolus anno
Cincta est ripheis nostra Vienna getis.

In this yere themperour gave to the lord master of saynt Jhones of Jerusalem, and his bretherne the Iland of Malto liyng betwene Scicile and Barbarie, there to employ them selfe upon Christes enemies which lorde master had no place suer to enhabite there sith he was put from the Rodes by this Turke that beseged Vienne, as you have hard before.

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IN the beginnyng of this two and twentie yere, the kyng like a politike and a prudent prince, perceived that his subjectes and other persons had divers times within foure yeres last past, brought into his realme, great nombre of printed bokes, of the new Testament, translated into the English tongue by Tyndall, Joy, and other, whiche bokes the common people used and dayly red prively, which the clargie woulde not admit, for they punished suche persones as had red, studied or taught the same with greate extremitie, but bycause the multitude was so great, it was not in their power to redresse there grefe: wherefore they made complaint to the Chauncelor (which leaned much to the spiritual mennes part, in all causes) where upon he imprisoned and punished a great nomber, so that for this cause a great rumor and controversie rose daily emongest the people: wherfore the kyng considerynge what good might come of readyng of the new Testament with reverence and folowyng the same, and what evell might come of the readyng of the same yf it were evill translated, and not folowed: came into the starre chambre the five and twentie day of May, and there commoned with his counsaile and the prelates concernynge this cause, and after longe debatyng, it was alleged that the translacion of Tyndal and Joy were not truely translated, and also that in them were prologues and prefaces which sounded to heresie, and rayled against the bishopes uncharitably, wherfore all suche bokes were prohibited and commaundement geven by the kyng to the bishoppes, The xxii. yere. The newe testament forbidden.

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bishoppes, that they callyng to them the best learned men of the universities should cause a new translacion to be made, so that the people should not be ignoraunt in the law of God: And notwithstandynge this commaundement the byshopes dyd nothing at al to set furth a new translacion, which caused the people to study Tindalles translacion, by reason where of many thinges came to light, as you shall here after.

In this yere in Maye, the bishop of London caused all his newe Testamentes which he had bought with many other bokes to be brought into Paules churcheyarde in London and there was openly burned.

In the ende of this yere, the wilde Irishmen knowyng the Earle of Kildare to be in England, entered his lande, and spoyled and brent hys countrey, and divers other contreys, and the Earle of Ossery being the kynges deputie made litle resistaunce, for lacke of power, wherfore the kyng sent the earle of Kildare into Ireland, and with him sir Wyllyam Skevyngton knight, Mayster of the kynges ordinaunce and dyvers Gunners with hym, whych so pollitickly ordered them selfe that their enemies were glad to offre amendes and to treate for truce, and so sir Wyllyam Skevyngton the nexte yere returned into England leving there the Erle of Kildare for the kynges deputie.

Now I wil returne to the execucion of the treatie of Cambray in the which it was agreed that the Lady Elianor and the Frenche kynges chyldren should be delivered, when the raunsome appointed was paid as you have heard in the last yere: Wherfore the French kyng gathered money of hys subjectes with all spede, and when the money was ready he sent the great Maister of Fraunce called Annas de Memorancy, and divers other nobles to Bayon wyth the money, and to receive the lady and the children. And thyther came to them the great Constable of Castle and Mounsire Prat for the Emperor, and there the crounes wer wayed and touched, and what fault soever the Spaniardes founde in theim, they would not receive a great nomber of them, and so thei caried the chyldren backe from Fountraby into Spayn. Thus the great maister of Fraunce, and his company lay still at Bayon wythout havinge hys purpose performed from Marche til the ende of June, and lenger had lyen, yf the king of England had not sent sir Fraunces Bryan to Bayon

to

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The delyveraunce of the Frenche kinges children.

to warrant the payment: wherupon the day of delyveraunce was appoynted to be on S. Peters daye in June. At whiche daye the greate Maister wyth xxxi. Mulettes laden with the crounes came to the one side of the river of Auday, which ryver departeth Spayne and Fraunce, and there taried til the first day of July: on which daye the ladye Elianor, and the children wer put into two great boates, having only xii. gentlemen of Spayne with them: and in lyke maner the great Maister with two great boates in the which the money was, and xii. gentlemen with hym. Al these boates met at a brydge made in the middes of the river: The Constable of Spayn, and his xii. gentlemen met with the great maister of Fraunce, and his xii. gentlemen on the bridge, and after a litle salutacion the Frenchmen entered into the ii. boates wher the lady and the two children were, and the Spaniardes into the two boates wher the money was, and then eche part hasted to land. Thus wer the Frenche kyngs wyfe and children delivered into his handes, for whych delyveraunce was great joy, and triumph made in Fraunce, and also in July were fiers made in London and divers other places for the same consideracion and cause.

The Emperor as you have heard the last yere, passed out of Italy in to Germany, and was receyved wyth great honor and triumph into the citie of Ausborough or August, where in June were present al the electors and almoste all the princes of the Empire: there was kept a great counsayl for the princes of Germany were of two several opinions and of several names, the part that favored the pope, and all thynges done by hys aucthoritie were called catholycal, and the other part which folowed and preached only the gospel of Christ were called evangelical. Of these and other thynges concerning our fayth ther wer many counsayles: but Cardinal Campeius the Popes legate would not suffer the Evangelycal persones (whom he called Lutherans) to argue againste the catholycal men (whom the Evangelical persons called papistes) lest by the openyng of the scrypture the aucthoritie of the court of Rome should have bene damned, and therfore the Emperor put of the matter till another tyme: But thys matter was not so let slyppe, for of thys mocion men so serched the law of God that within a few yeres after, many people refused the Pope for the heade of the Churche and forsoke hym and hys pardons.

On

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A Proclamacyon.

On the xix. daye of September in the cytye of London was made thys Proclamacyon. 'The kynges hyghnes 'strayghtly chargeth and commaundeth that no maner of 'person of what estate, degre or condicion soever he or 'they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the 'court of Rome or els where, nor use and put in execucion, 'divulge or publysh any thynge heretofore wythin thys yere 'passed, purchased, or to be purchased herafter contaynyng 'matter prejudicial to the hygh auctoritie, jurisdiccyon and 'prerogative royal, of thys his sayd realm, or to the let, 'hynderaunce or impechement of his graces noble and 'verteous entended purposes in the premysses, upon payne 'of incurryng hys hyghnes indignacyon and imprisonment 'and farther punishment of theyr bodyes for theyr so 'doing at hys graces pleasure, to the dreadful example of 'all other.'

Thys proclamacion was muche mused at and every worde of the same well noted. Some sayd that it was made because that the quene had purchased a newe Bull for the ratifycacyon of her mariage, other sayde that it was made because the Cardinall had purchased a Bull to curse the kyng, yf he would not restore hym to hys old dignities, and that the king should suffer him to correct the spiritualtie, and he not to meddle wyth the same. This invencyon sounded moste to the trueth as you shall heare afterward.

In October the ryver of Tyber was of suche an heygth that in Rome and other places about Rome almost xii. M. persons wer drouned and in the next moneth zeland, Holland and Brabant were sore noyed with waters, and many people and much cattel were drouned.

You have heard in the last yere how the Cardinal of Yorke was attainted in the premunire and that notwithstandyng the king had geven him the bishoprickes of Yorke and Winchester wyth greate plentye of substaunce, and had lycensed him to lye in hys dioces of Yorke. He beyng this in his dioces grudgyng at his fall and not remembryng the kynges kyndnes shewed to hym, wrote to the Court of Rome and to divers other prynces letters in reproche of the kyng, and in as much as in hym lay, he stirred them to revenge his cause agaynst the kynge and hys realme, in so muche that divers opprobrious woordes of the kynge were spoken to Doctor Edward Keerne the kynges Orator at Rome,

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Rome, and it was sayd to him that for the Cardinals sake, the kinge should have the worse spede in the suite of hys matrimony. The Cardinal also woulde speake fayre to the people to wynne their heartes, and declared ever, that he was unjustlye and untruely ordered, whyche fayre speakynge made manye men beleve that he sayde true: and to gentlemen he gave great gyftes to allure them unto him: And to be had in the more reputacion among the people he determined to be installed or inthronised at Yorke with all the pompe that might be, and caused a throne to be erected in the Cathedral church in such an heygth and fashyon as was never sene, and sent to al the lordes, Abbottes, Priors, knyghtes, esquyers and gentlemen of hys dioces, to be at hys Manor of Cawod the vi. day of November and so to bryng hym to yorke with al maner of Pompe and solempnitie.

The pride of the Cardinal.

The kyng whiche knew hys doynges and privye conveyaunce, all this yere dissembled the matter to see what he woulde do at length, tyll that he saw hys proud hart so hyghly exalted that he would be so triumphantly installed wythout making the kyng privye, yea and in maner in disdayne of the kynge, thoughte it not mete nor convenyent to suffer hym any lenger to continue in his malicious and proude purposes and attemptes: wherfore he directed his letters to Henry the vi. erle of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the Cardinal and to deliver him to therle of Shrewsbury great stewarde of the kynges housholde: When the erle had sene the letters, he with a convenient nomber came to the Manor of Cawod the iiii. day of November, and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, my lord I pray you take pacience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayde the Cardinal, yea sayd the erle I have a commaundement so to do: you have no such power sayd the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate de Latere and a pere of the College of Rome and ought not to be arrested by any Temporall power, for I am not subject to that power, wherfore if you arrest me, I wyl withstand it: wel sayd the erle, here is the kings Commission (which he shewed him) and therfore I charge you to obey: the Cardinal somewhat remembred hym selfe and sayd, wel my lord I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into the punishment

The Cardynal arrested.

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punishment of the Premunire and lost by the lawe all my landes and goodes, yet my person was in the kynges proteccion and I was pardoned that offence, wherfore I marvell why I nowe shoulde be arrested and speciallye considerynge that I am a member of the sea Apostolike on whom no temporall man ought to lay violent handes, well I see the king lacketh good counsayll: wel sayd the erle when I was sworne Warden of the Marches, you your self told me, that I might with my staffe arrest all men under the degree of a kynge, and now I am more stronger for I have a commission so to do whiche you have sene. The Cardinall at length obeyed and was kepte in a privye chamber and his goodes seazed, and his officers discharged, and his Phisician called doctor Augustyne was likewyse arrested, and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welshe one of the kynges chamber. The vi. day of November he was conveyed from Cawod to Sheffeld castle and there delivered to therle of Shrewsburies keping til the kinges pleasure were knowen: Of this attachement was muche commoning amongest the common people, wherefore manye were glad, for surelye he was not in the favor of the comminaltie.

When the Cardinal was thus arrested the kynge sent sir Wyllyam Kingston knyght capitayne of the Garde and Constable of the Tower of London, wyth certayn yomen of the Gard to Sheffeld to fetch the Cardinall to the Tower. When the Cardinal saw the capitaine of the Garde, he was sore astonnied and shortly became sicke, for then he perceyved some great trouble toward him, and for that cause men sayde, that he willingly toke so much quantitie of strong purgacion, that hys nature was not able to beare it: but sir Wyllyam Kyngston comforted him, and by easy jornaies he brought him to the Abbay of Lecester the xxvii. daye of November, where for very feblenes of nature caused by purgacions and vomites he dyed the second night folowynge, and in the same abbay lyeth buryed. This Cardinall as you may perceyve in this story was of a great stomacke, for he compted him selfe egall with princes, and by craftye suggestion gatte into his handes innumerable treasure: He forced litle on symony and was not pityful and stode affeccionate in his owne opinion: In open presence he would lye and say untrueth and was double both in speche and meanyng: He wold promise muche and performe lytle: He

The Cardinal dead and buried at leycester.

The descripcion of the Cardynal.

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He was vicious of his body and gave the clergie evyl example: He hated sore the citie of London and feared it: It was told him that he shuld dye in the way toward London, wherfore he feared lest the commons of the citie would arise in riotous maner and so sleye him, yet for al that he dyed in the waye towarde London. The authoritie of this Cardinal set the clergie in such a pride that they dysdayned al men, wherfore when he was fallen thei folowed after as you shall heare. To wryte the lyfe and doynges of thys Cardinal, it were a great worke, but whatsoever he did, God forgeve his soule hys bodies misdedes.

After the Cardinal was dead, the king removed from Hampton court to Grenewiche, wher he wyth quene Katherine kept a solempne Christmas, and on the twelfe nyght he satte in the halle in his estate, wher as were dyvers Enterludes, ryche Maskes and disportes, and after that a great banket. And after Christmas he came to hys Manor of Westminster, which before was called Yorke place, for after that the Cardinal was attainted in the premunire and was gone Northward, he made a feoffement of the same place to the kinge, and the chapiter of the Cathedrall church of Yorke by their writing confirmed the same feoffement and then the king chaunged the name and called it the kinges Manor of Westminster and no more Yorke place.

The whole clergie of England ever supported and maintayned the power legantine of the Cardinall, wherfore the kinges counsayl learned sayd plainly that they all were in the Premunire, the spiritual lordes were called by Proces into the kinges Benche to answere, but before their day of apperaunce, they in their Convocacion cuncluded an humble submission in writing and offered the kyng a C.M. pound to be their good lorde, and also to geve them a pardon of all offences touching the Premunire by act of Parliament, the which offer with much labor was accepted, and their pardon promysed. In this submission the Clergie called the kyng supreme head of the church of Englande, which thing they never confessed before, whereupon many thinges folowed after as you shall heare.

The kynge first named supreme hed.

When the Parliament was begon the vi. day of January, the pardon of the spiritual persones was signed with the kynges hand and sente to the lordes which in tyme convenient

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venient assented to the byll and sent it to the commons in the lower house, and when it was read, divers froward persones would in no wyse assente to it, except al men were pardoned, saying that all men which had any thinge to do with the Cardinal wer in the same case: the wyser sort answered that they would not compell the king to geve them his pardon, and beside that, it was uncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie and do themselfes no good, wherfore they advised them to consent to the bill and after to sue to the kyng for their pardon, which counsayl was not folowed, but they determyned first to send the Speaker to the kinge or they woulde assent to the bill, wherupon Thomas Audely speaker for the commons with a convenient nomber of the common house came to the kynges presence and ther eloquently declared to the king how the commons sore lamented and bewayled their chaunce to thinke or imagine them selfes to be oute of his gracious favor, because that he had graciously geven his pardon of the Premunire to his spirituall subjectes and not to them, wherfore they most humbly besoughte hys grace of his accustomed goodnes and clemency to include them in the same pardon.

The kyng wysely answered that he was their prince and soveraigne lord, and that they ought not to restraine hym of hys libertie, nor to compel him to shewe his mercy, for it was at his pleasure to use the extremitie of his lawes, or mitigate and pardon the same, wherfore sith they denied to assent to the pardon of the spirituall persones, which pardon he said he myght geve without their assent by his great seale, he would be wel advised or he pardoned them, because he woulde not be noted to be compelled to do it: with this answere the speaker and the commons departed very sorowful and pensive and some lyght persons sayd that Thomas Crumwel whiche was newly come to the favor of the kynge, had disclosed the secretes of the commons, which thing caused the kynge to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good Prince considered how sorowful his commons wer of the answere that he made them, and thought that thei wer not quiet, wherfore of hys owne mocion he caused a pardon of the Premunire to be drawen, and sygned it wyth his hand and sent it to the comon house by Christopher Hales hys atturnay, whiche bill was sone

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sone assented to. Then the commons lovingly thanked the king, and much praised his witte, that he had denied it to them when they unworthely demaunded it and had bountyfully graunted it when he perceyved that they sorowed and lamented.

While the Parliament sat, on the xxx. day of Marche at after none there came into the common house the lord Chauncellour and dyvers lordes of the spiritualtie and temporaltie to the nomber of xii. and there the lorde Chauncelor sayde, you of this worshipful house I am sure be not so ignorant but you know well that the kyng our soveraygne lord hath maried his brothers wyfe, for she was both wedded and bedded wyth his brother prince Arthur, and therfore you may surely say that he hathe maried his brothers wyfe, if thys mariage be good or no, manye clerkes do doubt. Wherfore the kinge lyke a vertuous prince willinge to be satisfied in his conscience, and also for the suretie of hys realme hath with great deliberacion consulted with great clerkes, and hath sent my lord of London here present to the chiefe Universities of all Christendome to know their opinion and judgement in that behalfe. And althoughe that the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford had bene sufficient to discusse the cause, yet because they be in his realme and to avoyde all suspicion of parcialitie he sente into the realme of Fraunce, Italy the Popes dominions, and Venicians to knowe their judgemente in that behalfe, which have concluded, written and sealed their determinacions according as you shall hear read. Then sir Brian Tuke toke oute of a boxe xii. wrytynges sealed, and read them word by word, as after ensueth translated out of Latin into the Englysh tongue.

The determinacion of the universitie of Orleaunce.

Orleaunce.

Not long syns there were put forth to us the College of doctors regentes of the Universitie of Orliaunce, these two questions that folow. The fyrste, whether it be lawful by the lawe of God for the brother to take to wyfe that woman whom his brother hath left? The seconde, yf this be forbidden by the lawe of God, whether this prohibicion of the lawe of God may be remitted by the Pope his dispensacion? Wee

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Wee the foresaid College of doctors regentes according to our custome and usage came many times together, and did sat divers times upon the discussynge of these forsayd doubtes and questions and did examine and way as much as we might divers and many places both of the old testament and new, and also the interpreters and declarers both of the law of God and the Canon lawe. After we had wayed and considered all thinges exactely and wyth good leysure and deliberacion, we have determined and concluded that these forsaid mariages cannot be attempted nor enterprised except a man do wrong and plaine contrary to the law of God: yea and that althoughe it be done by pardon and sufferaunce of the Pope. And in witnes of this conclusion and determynacion we have caused this present publike writing to be signed by our Scribe of our sayd Universitie, and to be strengthed and fortefyed with the seale of the same: Enacted in the chapel of our lady Annunciacion, or the good tydynges that she had of Christes commyng in Orleaunce, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxix. the v. day of April.

The determinacion of the facultie of Decrees of the universitie of Paris.

Lawers of Paris.

In the name of the Lorde so be it. There was put forth before us the Deane and College of the right counsail ful facultie of Decrees of the Universitie of Paris this question. Whither that the Pope myght dispence that the brother myght mary the wyfe that his brother hath left, yf the mariage betwene his brother now dead and hys wyfe were once consummate? we the Deane and College of the sayd facultie after many disputacions and reasons made of bothe sydes upon this matter and after great and longe turnyng and serching of bokes, bothe of the lawe of God and the Popes law and of the law Civil, we counsayl and say that the Pope hath no power to dispence in this forsayde case: In witnes wherof we have caused this present writing to be strengthed with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our Scribe or chiefe Bedle. Geven in the congregacion or assemble at saint Jhon Laterenense in Parys the second day of May M.D.xxx.

The

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The determinacion of Civilians and Canonistes of the universitie of Angew.

Angew.

Not long tyme syns there were purposed unto us the Rector and doctors, Regentes in law canon and civile of the universitie of Angew these ii. questions here folowyng, that is to wete, whether it is unleful by the lawe of God and the lawe of nature for a man to mary the wyfe of hys brother that is departed wythout chyldren, so that the mariage was consummate? And agayne whether it is lawfull for the Pope to dispence wyth such mariage? We the aforsayd Rector and doctors have accordyng to our custome and usage many times communed together and sytten to dispute these questions, and to fynde out the certaintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined many and divers places aswel of the law of God as of the law of man, whyche semed to pertayne to the same purpose, and after that we had brought for bothe parties and examined them. All thinges faythfully and after good conscience considered and upon sufficient deliberacion and avisement taken, we defyne and determyne that neyther by the lawe of God nor of nature it is permitted for any christen man, no not even with the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, or wyth anye dispensacion graunted by the Pope to mary the wyfe that his brother had lefte, althoughe hys brother be departed wythout children, after that the mariage is once finished and consummate. And for wytnes of these aforsayde thinges, we have commaunded our Scribe of our sayd Universitie to signe this present publik instrument, and it to be fortefyed wyth the great seale of oure Universitie, Enacted in the church of S. Peter in Angew, the yere of our Lorde, M.D.xxx. the vii. day of May.

The determinacion of the facultie of divinitie in the universitie of Paris.

Paris.

The Deane and the facultie of the holye divinitie of the universitie of Paris, to all them to whom this present writing shall come wysheth safetie in our savior Jesu Christ which is the very true safetie: Where of late there is risen a great controversie of greate difficultie upon the mariage betwene the most noble Henry the viii. kyng of England defendor

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defendor of the fayth and lorde of Ireland &c. and the noble lady Katherine quene of England, doughter to the Catholike kynge Ferdinand, which mariage was not onelye contracte betwene her and her former husband, but also consummate and fynyshed by carnall intermedeling. Thys question also was purposed to us to discusse and examine accordyng to justice and trueth, that is to say, whether to mary her that our brother dead without chyldren had left being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it cannot be made lefull by the Popes dispensacyon, that any Christen man shoulde mary the wyfe that hys brother had left? We the foresayd Deane and facultie callynge to oure remembraunce, how vertuous and how holy a thynge and how agreable to our profession, unto our dutie of love and charitie, it is for us to shewe the waye of Justice and ryght, of vertue and honestie to them whyche desire to leade and passe over their life in the law of our Lord wyth sure and quiet conscience: could not but be ready to satisfie so honest and just requestes: wherupon after our old wont, we came together upon our othe in the church of S. Maturyne, and there for the same cause had a solempne Masse wyth devout prayer to the holy Ghost. And also we toke an oth every man to delyber and to study upon the forsayd question, as shoulde be to the pleasure of God, and according to conscience? And after divers and many Sessions or sittinges, which were had and continued in the churche of saynt Maturyn, and also in the college called Sarbone from the viii. day of June to the second day of July. When he had searched and examined through and through wyth as muche diligence as we coulde and with suche reverence and religion or conscience as becommeth in suche a matter, bothe the bokes of holy scripture, and also the most approved interpreters of the same: Finally the general and synodall counsayles, decrees and constitucions of the sacre and holy churche, which by long custome hath bene receyved and approbate, we the forsayd Deane and facultie disputing upon the forsayd question and makyng answere to the same, and that after the judgement and full consent of the most part of the sayd facultie have concluded and determyned that the forsaid mariage with the brothers wyfe departyng without children be so forbidden both by the lawe of God and of nature, that the Pope hath no power to

to dispence with such mariages, whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, beleve, and witnes of thys our Assercion and determinacion, we have caused the seale of oure facultie wyth our Notaries sygne to be put unto this present writyng. Dated in our generall congregacion that we kepe by an othe at sainct Maturynes, the yere of our Lord M.D.xx. the second day of July.

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The determinacion of the universitie of Burges in Berry or Biturs.

Burges.

We the Deane and facultie of divinitie in the Universitie of Burges, because we will according to the example of S. Paule doctor of the Gentiles, which doeth likewyse, wyl begyn our writing with praier unto al the beloved of God, among whom you moste deare readers unto whom we wryte be called, grace peace and quyetnes of conscience come to you from God the father and from our Lord Jesu Christ: while we were gathered together all into one place (in the octaves of Whytsontide) both in body and minde, and were sittyng in the house of the sayd deane, there was a question put to us agayne, whiche had bene purposed to us often tymes before, beyng no final question, which was this: Whither the brother taking the wyfe of his brother now dead, and the mariage once consummate and perfite doth a thyng unlawfull or no? At the last when we had fought for the trueth of the thyng and had perceived and founde it out by much labour and studye of every one of us by himselfe, and by much and often turning of holy bokes, everye one of us not corrupt, wherby we myght the lesse obey the trueth, began as the holy gost did put in his mind to geve every man one arbitrement and sentence which was this. I have wel perceyved in very trueth without regard or respect of any person that those persons which be rehersed in the xviii. cha. of the Levitical law, be forbidden by the very law of nature to contract matrimonye together, and that this lawe can in no wyse bee released by any authoritie of any manne, by the whiche there is made an abhominable dyscoverynge of hys brothers foulnes. And this is the signe of oure commen Bedyl or Notarie and the seale of our forsayd facultie put unto thys present wrytyng the x. day of June, in the yere of oure Lord M.D.xxx. And because the fote

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fote of our writinge shalbe of one forme and fashyon wyth the head, as we began wyth prayer, so let us ende after the example of S. Paule that we spake of before, and say, the grace and favor of oure Lorde Jesu Christe, the charitie and love of God and the communicacion of the holy Ghost be wyth you all. Amen.

The determinacion of the divines in the popes universitie of Bonony.

Bonony.

God best and mightiest taught first the olde lawe and testament wyth his owne mouthe, to forme and fashyon accordynge to love and charitie, the maners and lyfe of men. And secondarely the same God dyd take afterwardes manhod upon hym for to be the redemer of man, and so made the newe lawe or newe Testament not onely to forme and fashyon accordinge to love and charitie the lyfe and maners of men, but also to take away and to declare doubtes the which did aryse in manye cases whiche when they be once clerely determined shall helpe greately to perfite vertue and goodnes, that is to saye, to perfite love and charitie. Wherefore we thought it evermore, that it shoulde be our part to folowe these most holy doctrynes and lawes of our father of heaven, and that we lightned by the lyght of God above, and of the holye ghost, shoulde geve oure sentence and judgement in hygh and doubtful matters after that we have once leyserly and sufficientlye taken advisement upon the cause, and have clerely serched out and opened the thing by many reasons and writinges of holy fathers aswel for the one part as for the other, doyng nothynge as nere as we can rashly or wythout deliberacyon. Therfore where certayne great and noble men did instantly desire us, that we would wyth al diligence possible loke for thys case that after ensueth, and afterwardes to geve our judgement upon the same, accordynge to moste equitie, ryght and conscience, stickynge onely to the trueth: All the Doctors of Divinitie of this Universitie, when we had every one by hym selfe examined the matter at home in our houses, came altogether into one place and there treated upon it many dayes wyth asmuche conning and learnynge as we could, we anon loked on the case together, we examyned it together, we compared all thynge together, we handelyng every thing by it selfe, dyd trye

trye them even as you woulde saye by line and rule, wee brought forth al maner of reasons, which we thought could be brought for the contrary part, and afterward solved them, yea even the reasons of the moste reverende father Cardinall Caietayne, yea, and moreover the Deuteronomy dispensacion of stirrynge up the brothers seede, and shortly after all maner of reasons and opinions of the contrary part, as manye as semed to belong to thys purpose, and thys question that was asked of us was this: Whether it was forbydden onely by the ordinaunce of the churche or els by the law of God, that a man myght not marye the wyfe left of his brother departed wythout children: and if it were commaunded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the Pope may dispence with any man to make such mariage? the whiche question nowe that we have examined it both by your selfe secretely and also openly and diligently and exactely as we could possible, and discussed it after the best maner that our wittes wold serve: we determine, geve judgement and say, and as stifly as we can we witnes and without anye doubt do stedfastly hold that this mariage should be horrible, accursed and to bee cried out upon and utterly abhominable not onlye for a christen man, but for an infidele, unfaythfull or heathen. And that it is prohibite under grevous paynes and punishementes by the lawe of God, of nature and of man, and that the Pope, though that he almoste may do all thinges, unto whom Christ did geve the keyes of the kingedom of heaven, hathe no power to geve a dispensacion to any man for to contract suche a mariage for any maner of cause, consideracion or suggestion: And all we bee ready at al tymes and in all places to defende and maintayne the truth of this our conclusion. In witnes wherof we have made thys present writing, and have fortefied the same both with the seale of our universitie and also with the seale of oure College of Doctors of Divinitie, and have subscribed and signed wyth our general and accustomed subscripcion in the Cathedral churche of Bonony the x. day of June, the yere of our Lord M.D.xxx.

The determinacion of the facultie of divinitie in the universitie of Padua in Italy.

Thei that have written for the maintenaunce of the catholick

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catholick faith affirme that God best and mightiest did geve the preceptes and commaundementes of the olde law with hys owne mouthe, to be an example for us, wherein we might se howe we should order oure lyfe and maners, and this God had done before he became manne: and after that he had put upon hym our manhode and was become redemer or byer of mankynde, He made the newe lawe or Testament, and of his mere liberalitie dyd geve it us, not onely for the cause aforsayde, but also to take away and declare all maner of doubtes and questyons that myght aryse, the which once opened and declared what their very true meaning is to thentent that therby we myght be made perfitly good, which be greatly fruytful to us and holsome: and seyng that this was the mynd of God in makyng these lawes, it hath ben our entent and evermore shalbe, as it becommeth christen men to folow these most solempne ordinaunces of the moste high workmayster God, and the help of hys light, that is above the capacitie of nature, to utter our judgement in al maner of doubtes and harde questions. After we had once considered the thing after the best maner, and had by sufficient leysure made it clere by many evident reasons of both parties, and by many aucthorities of the fathers of the Church, determinyng no thyng as nere as we can, rashely or wythout convenient deliberacion. Seyng therfore that certain great Orators or ambassadors did humbly require and pray us, that we would vouchesafe and serche out with all the diligence that we could this case folowing and afterwardes to geve our sentence upon the same, plainly and symply loking onelye on the trueth. After the Doctors of divinitie of this Universitie came together, and that we had every man examined the thinge particulerly in our owne houses, and have beaten it with all learnynge and connyng that we were able: Anon when we wer together, we considered, examined and wayed all thinges by themselfes, and brought in al maner of reasons, which we thought might by any meanes be made to the contrary, and without al colour or cloke dyd wholy and clerely dissolve them and take them away. And amongest al, the dispensacion by the lawe of Deuteronomy of styrryng up the brothers sede, and al maner other reasons and determinacions to the contrarie, that semed to us to pertain any thing to that purpose, we utterly confuted and dispatched them. And the question that is put

to

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to us, is this: Whether to mary the wife of our brother departed wythout chyldren is forbidden only by the lawe of the church or by the law of God also: and yf it be forbidden by bothe these lawes, whether the Pope may dispence with any man for such matrimony or no? which question now that we have discussed it, and as farre as we could, have made it clere, both privately every man by hym selfe and after al togethers openly, we say, judge, decree, witnes and for a truth affirme that such mariage is no mariage, yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of every christen man, and to be abhominate as a grevous sinne. And that it is as clearely as can be forbidden under moste cruel penalties by the lawes of nature, of God and of man: And that the Pope, unto whom the keyes of the kyngdome of heaven be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispence by the right and law for any cause, suggestion or excuse, that anye suche matrimony shoulde be contracte. For those thinges which be forbidden by the law of God be not underneth hys power, but above it, nor he is not the Vicar of God as concernyng those thinges, but only in such thynges as God hath not determyned him selfe in his law, but hath lefte them to the determinacion and ordinaunce of man. And to maintayne the trueth of this our sentence and conclusion, and for moste certayne and undoubted defence of the same, we al of one minde and accorde shall at al tymes and in every place bee redy. In witnes wherof we have made this writing and have authorised it with the accustomed seale of our Universitie and also of our College of divines, Dated at Padway in the Churche of the Hermites of saint Austen the first day of July, in the yere of our Lord M.D.xx.

The Determinacion of the Universitie of Tholose.

There was treated in our universitie of Tholose a very harde question: Whether it be lefull for the brother to marye her whiche had ben wyfe to his brother now departed, and that without chyldren? There was besyde this another thyng that troubled us very sore: Whether, yf the pope which hath the cure of Christes flocke would by his dispensacion (as men call it) suffre this, that then at the least wyse it myght be lawfull? The Rector of the Universitie called

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called to counsell all the Doctors regentes that were that tyme at Tholose for to shew their myndes on this question, and that not once, but twyse: For he judged that counsell gevyng ought not to be hasted nor doone upon head, and that we had neede of tyme and space to doo anye thynge conveniently and as it ought to bee. At the last there came togither into one place all the best learned and connyngest doctors, both of holye divinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in bothe lawes, yea, and finally as many as had anye experience in any matter and wer able to do any thing either by judgement and discresion, or by eloquence or their excellent wyttes. And there dyd swere that they woulde obey the sacre and holy counsels, and would folowe the Decrees of the Fathers, which no man that hath any good conscience wyll violate or breake. And so every man sayde hys minde, and the matter was debated and reasoned diffusely and at large for bothe partes. In conclusion, we fel so fast to this poynte, that this was the sentence and determinacion that oure Universitie, with one voyce of all, dyd determine and conclude with moste pure and cleare conscience and defiled with no maner of leven or corrupcion: That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take her to wyfe that his brother hath left: And seeynge that it may not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all: That the Pope can lose no man from that lawe nor dispence with him. And as for that thinge can not be contrary to our sentence and verdyct: that the brother in olde time was compelled by the lawe of Deuteronomy to mary the brothers wyfe departed without issue: For this law was but a shadowe and a fygure of thinges to come, which vanyshed away assone as ever the lyght and trueth of the Gospell appeared: And because these thynges be thus, we have geven our sentence after this forme above, and have commaunded the same to be sygned by our Notary which is our secretory, and to be fortified and aucthorised by the puttyng to of our autenticall Seale of our Universitie aforesayde, at Tholose the Calendes or fyrst daye of Octobre, the yere of our Lorde a thousand v.C.xxx.

After these Determinacions were read, there wer shewed above an hundreth bookes drawen by Doctors of straunge Regions, whiche all agreed the Kynges Mariage to be unlefull, whiche

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whiche were not read, for the day was spent. Then the Chauncellor sayd: Now you of this commen house may reporte in your countryes what you have seene and heard and then all men shall openly perceyve that the kyng hath not attempted this matter of wyll or pleasure, as some straungers reporte, but only for the discharge of his conscience and suretie of the succession of his realme: This is the cause of our repaire hyther to you, and now we wyll departe.

When these Determinacions were publysshed, all wyse men in the Realme moche abhorred that mariage: but women, and such as wer more wylfull then wyse or learned, spake agaynst the Determinacion, and sayed that the Universities were corrupte and entysed so to do, which is not to be thought. The Kyng him selfe sore lamented his chaunce and made no maner of myrth nor pastyme as he was wont to do, and dyned and resorted to the quene as he was accustomed, and minished nothynge of her estate, and moch loved and cheryshed their doughter the Lady Mary: but in no wyse he woulde not come to her bed. When Ester began to draw nere, the Parliament for that tyme ended, and was proroged till the last day of Marche, in the nexte yere.

The Acte of Poysonyng.

In the Parliament aforesayde was an Acte made, that whosoever dyd poyson any persone, shoulde be boyled in hote water to the death: which Acte was made bicause one Richard Roose, in the Parliament tyme had poysoned divers persons at the Bisshop of Rochesters place, which Richard, according to the same Acte, was boyled in Smythfeld the Teneber wednisday followyng, to the terrible example of all other.

An earthquake.

This winter season, on the xxvi. day of Janyver, in the citie of Luxborne in Portingale, was a wonderous Earthquake, which destroied many houses and towers, and slew many people by fallynge downe of the same, the Kynges Palace shoke so, that he and the Quene, and the Ladyes fled out of their Palace, without any servauntes, and sought succour where they myght get it, and sodeinly the quaking seassed: Then the Rockes opened, and out sprange the water, that the shippes in the haven were lyke to have peryshed: Then the earth quaked agayne, and dyd more harme then before, and at nyght it ceassed: of whiche Earthquake, many men were murthered and destroyed.

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Message sent to the Quene.

When the universitie aforesayd, and a great nombre of clerkes and well learned men had determined the Kynges mariage to be unlawfull, detestable, and agaynst Gods lawe, as you have heard, the Kynge willyng the quene to have knowledge of the same, sent to her dyvers Lordes of the councel the last day of Maie beyng the wednisday in Whitson weke: the which Lordes, in her chaumbre at Grenewyche, declared to her all the Determinacion as you have hearde, and asked her whether she would for the quyetnesse of the Kynges conscience, put the matter to iiii. Prelates, and iiii. temporall Lordes of this Realme, or abyde by her appele. The Quene answered: The kyng my father which concluded my mariage, I am sure, was not so ignoraunt but he asked councell of clerkes and well learned men before he maryed me the second tyme: for yf he had had eny doubte in my maryage, he woulde not have disbursed so great a treasure as he dyd, and then all Doctors in maner agreed my maryage to be good, in so moche that the Pope hym selfe, which knew best what was to be dooen, dyd both dispence and ratified my seconde mariage, agaynste whose doynge I mervayle that anye persone wyll speake or wryte: And as to the Determinacion of the universitie, I am a woman and lacke wytte and learnyng to aunswere to them, but to God I commit the judgement of that, whether thei have done justly or percially: for this I am sure, that neither the Kynges father, nor my father woulde have condiscended to our Mariage yf it had ben declared to be unlawfull: and where you saye that I shoulde put the cause to viii. persones of this Realme for quyetnes of the Kynges conscience, I praye God sende his grace a quyet conscience, and this shalbe your answere: That I say I am his lawfull wyfe, and to hym lawfully maryed, and by the ordre of the holye Churche I was to hym espowsed as his trew wyfe, although I was not so worthy, and in that poynte I will abyde tyl the cowrte of Rome which was prevy to the begynning have made therof a determinacion and finall endyng. With this answer the Lordes departed to the Kyng, whiche was sorye to heare of her wylfull opinion, and in especiall that she more trusted in the Popes law, then in kepyng the Preceptes of God.

The Kynge lyke a politike Prince, perceyved that the Merchaunt straungers, and in especiall, Italians, Spanyardes, and

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and Portyngales daily brought Oade, Oyle, Sylke, Clothes of Golde, Velvet, and other Merchaundyse into this Realme, and therfore receyved ready money, which money they ever delivered to other merchauntes by exchaunge and never employed the same money on the commodities of this Realme, so that therby the Kyng was hyndered in his Custome outwarde, and also the commodities of his Realme were not uttered, to the greate hynderaunce of his subjectes: wherefore he caused a Proclamacion to bee made in Mydsomer Tearme, accordynge to an olde Estatute made in the tyme of Kynge Rycharde the second: That no persone should make any exchaunge contrary to the trew meanyng of the same Acte and Estatute, upon payne to be taken the kynges mortall enemy, and to forfayte all that he myght forfayte. After this Proclamacion, many clothes and other commodities of this Realme were well solde, but shortly after Merchauntes fell to exchaunge agayne, and the Proclamacion was shortly forgotten.

A Proclamacion of Exchaunge.

The Kyng after Whytsontyde and the Quene removed to Wyndsore, and there continued tyll the xiiii. daye of Julye, on whiche daye the Kynge removed to Woodstocke and lefte her at Wyndsore, where she laye a whyle, and after removed to the Moore, and afterwarde to Estamstede: and after this day, the Kyng and she never saw together. Wherfore the Commen people dailye murmured and spake their folysh fantasies. But the affayres of Princes be not ordered by the commen people, nor it were not convenient that all thynges were opened to theim.

After this, the kyng sent certayne Lordes to the Queene to Estamstede, to advyse her to be confirmable to the lawe of God, and to shewe unto her, that all the Universities had clearely determyned, that the Pope coulde in no wyse dispence with her Mariage, and therefore the Dispensacion to whiche she most trusted of all, was clearely voyde and of none effect. These, wyth manye mo causes and advysementes were declared to her, whiche nothynge moved her at all, but styll she sayde: Truly I am the Kynges trew wyfe, and to him maryed: and yf all Doctors were dead, or lawe, or learnyng so farre out of mannes mynde at that tyme of our maryage, yet I can not thinke that the courte of Rome and the whole Churche of Englande would consent to a thing unlawfull and detestable (as you call it) but styll I say

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I am hys wyfe, and for him wyll I pray. With this answer the Lordes departed, and came to the Kyng and made reporte as you have hearde.

This mariage was not alonly talked of in England, but in Fraunce, Spayne, Italye, yea, thorough all Christendome in maner, and especially in the Emperours Courte, in so muche as a great Marques of Spayne sayde to syr Nicholas Hervy knyght beyng the Kynges Ambassader in themperours Cowrte at Gaunte: My Lorde Ambassador of Englande, I mervayle not a lytell why the Kyng your Maister dalyeth so with themperours Aunte, she is dissended I assure you of a noble bloode and hye Parentage, themperours Majestie may not nor wyll not suffre soche injurye to be doone to hys bloode and lynage, that she shoulde whole xxii. yeres and more serve him as hys wyfe and bedfelow and now to rejecte her, what Princely maner is that, therein is neither love nor loyaltie? For yf a poore verlet had so longe served a Prince, what herte coulde have then rejected hym or put him from hym? it can not be sayd that your kyng is well councelled: the matter is moch mervayled at amongest Christen Princes and thynke her not to be honestly handeled nor honorably: And if it be so that she be not his wyfe (bicause she was once his brothers wyfe) as your Doctors saye and affirme, then no man can excuse your kynge nor saye but that she hath ben evyll handeled, and kepte lyke a Concubine or Paramour for the bodely appetite, which is a great spotte, shame, and rebuke to her and to her whole lynage, which spot no wayes can be sponged out nor recompenced, for shame in a kynred can by no treasure be redemed: Yf the kynge youre Maister remembre well this matter, he shal fynde that it transcendeth farre above the losse of erthly possessyons, I woulde he woulde be better advysed.

An Answer.

The Englysh Ambassador answered: My Lorde, my commission extendeth not to answer this matter, but to enforme you of the truth, I wyll somewhat say besyde my commission: Fyrst I say to you that the kyng my maister never ment in this matter but honorably, truly, and vertuously bothe for the pleasure of God and the profyte and surety of hys Realme, nor never was nor shall be anye Prince that ever was better contented and pleased with a woman then he hath ben wyth her, nor never Prince more loved,

loved, cherished, nor honoured a woman, then the kyng my Maister hath dooen her, and woulde with herte, mynde, and wyll her styll keepe as his wyfe, yf Goddes lawe woulde suffre it: My Lord, yf you remembre well all thynge, you shall fynde that thys doubt was fyrst moved in the Councell of Spayne, when the Emperour and the Kyng of Englande were agreed, that themperoure shoulde marye the Ladye Marye the Kynges Doughter: Upon that communicacion this doubte was put to the Emperours Councell, whether she were the Kynges lawfull Doughter or not, because it was well knowen that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

This matter was not so secrete but it spred into the councell bothe of Fraunce and Flaunders, to the great defamacion of the Kynge of Englande, and to the great uncertaintye of the successyon of his Realme: whereof when he was advertysed, I thynke never Prince tooke it more sorrowfully nor more dolently, and for satisfiynge of hys conscience, he called hys Cleargye and felte their opinions, and not trustyng his owne subjectes onely (whych I ensure you be excellently lerned) sent to all the Universities of Fraunce, Italye, and dyvers other Realmes to know their judgementes in this case, and surely the kynge my master sore lamenteth his chaunce and bewaileth the time myspent yf it so succede, for then is hys Realme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his body, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a Prince: The Mariage was well ment bothe of the Kynges father and the Quenes father, and they maried together by the advyce and councel of their frendes, and so lovyngly continued together as manne and wyfe without any scruple or doubte, till you of Spayne moved fyrst the question and put the maryage in ambiguitie, and therfore you can not wyth honour thynke but that the kyng hath done lyke a wyse Prince to searche out the solucion of your doubte which so neare toucheth his soule and the suretye of his Realme: And all thynge that he hath done he hath done by great advysement and wyth a great deliberacion, wherfore no reasonable man can saye, but he hath done lyke a wyse and vertuous Prince. The Marques hearynge this aunswere sayde, that the Kynge dyd wysely to trye the truthe, and was somewhat ashamed of that that he had spoken, as I was informed by them that were present.

You

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You have hearde before howe the Cleargye in their Convocacion had graunted to the kynge the somme of one hundreth thousand pounde to be pardoned of the Premunire, for leviynge of the whyche summe, every Bysshop in his Dioces called before him all the Priestes as well chauntrie and paryshe Priestes as Persones and Vycars, amongest whom, Doctor Jhon Stokesley Bysshop of London, a man of greate wytte and learnyng, but of lytle discresion and humanitie (whiche caused hym to be out of the favoure of the commen people) called before hym all the Priestes within the Citye of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of Septembre beyng fridaye, in the Chapiter house of Sayncte Paull, at whyche daye the Priestes appeared, and the Bysshoppes policye was to have onely syxe or eight priestes together, and by persuasions to have caused them to graunte some porcion towarde the payment of the foresayd One Hundreth M. pounde, but the nombre of the Pryestes was so greate, for they were syxe hundreth at the least, and with them came many Temporall men to heare of the matter, that the Bysshoppe was disapoynted of hys purpose: for when the Bysshoppes Officers called in certayne Pryestes by name into the Chapiter house: wyth that, a great nombre entered, for they putte the Bysshoppes Officers that kepte the dore a syde. After this the officers got the dore shut againe: then the priestes without sayde: We wyll not be kepte without, and our fellowes be within: we knowe not what the Bysshoppe wyll doo with them. The Temporall men beyng present stomaked and conforted the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the dore, and one strake the Bysshoppes Officer over the face and entered the Chapiter house and many temporall men with them, and long it was or any sylence coulde be made: and at laste when they were appeased, the Bysshop stoode up and sayde: Brethern, I mervayle not a lytell why you be so heddy and knowe not what shall be sayde to you, therfore I praye you to keepe sylence and to heare me paciently: My frendes all, you knowe well that wee bee men frayle of condicion and no Angels, and by frayltie and lacke of wysedome wee have misdemeaned our selfe toward the kyng our Soveraygne Lord and his lawes, so that all wee of the Cleargy were in the Premunire, by reason wherof, all our Promocions, Landes, Goodes and Catelles were to hym forfayte and

The bishopes saiyng.

our

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our bodyes readye to be enprisoned, yet his grace moved with pittie and compassyon, demaunded of us what wee coulde say why he shoulde not extende his lawes upon us, then the fathers of the Cleargye humbly besought his grace of mercye, to whom he answered that he was ever enclyned to mercy: then for all our great offences we had lytel penaunce, for where he might by the rygor of his law have taken all our lyvelod, goodes and catels, he was contented with one hundreth thousand poundes to be payde in fyve yeres: and although that this somme be more then we maye easelye beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we shoulde have borne the whole burdeyne: Wherefore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your livelod and salary towarde the payment of this somme graunted. Then it was shortely sayde to the Bysshoppe: My Lorde, twentye nobles a yere is but a bare lyvynge for a priest, for nowe victayle and every thynge in maner is so deare, that povertie in maner enforceth us to saye naye: besyde that, my Lord we never offended in the Premunire, for we medeled never with the Cardinals faculties, let the Byshoppes and Abbottes whych have offended paye. Then the Byshoppes officers gave to the priestes hyghe woordes, whyche caused them to be the more obstinate. Also dyvers temporall men whych were present conforted the Priestes and bade theim agree to no payment. In this rumor, dyvers of the Bysshoppes servauntes were buffeted and stryken so that the Bysshop beganne to be afrayde, and with fayre woordes appeased the noyse, and for all thynges which were done or sayde there he pardoned them and gave to them his blessyng and praied them to departe in charitie. And then they departed thynkyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were disceyved, for the Bysshop went to syr Thomas Moore then beyng Lorde Chauncellor (whych greatly favoured the Bysshop and the Cleargye) and to hym made a grevouse complaynte and declared the facte very grevously, where upon commaundement was sent to syr Thomas Pargitor Mayer of the Citie, to attache certaine priestes and temporall men, and so xv. priestes and v. temporall men were arrested, of the whych, some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleete, and other Prisons, where they remayned long after.

In this season were dyvers Preachynges in the Realme, one

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one contrarye to another concernyng the Kynges Maryage, and in especiall one Thomas Abell clerke, bothe preached and wrote a Booke, that the Mariage was lawfull, whiche caused many symple men to beleve hys opinion: This Abell was the Queenes Chaplayne, and wrote thys Booke to please her withall: wherfore the Kyng caused a Determinacion of the Universities, and all the judgementz of gret Clerkes to be compyled into a Booke and to be Printed, whiche Booke dyd satisfye the myndes of al indifferent and discrete persons: but some men were percial that neither learnyng nor reason coulde satisfy their wyllfull myndes.

This yere the Kynge kepte his Christemas at Grenewyche wyth great solempnitie, but all men sayde that there was no myrthe in that Christemas because the Queene and the Ladies were absent.

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AFTER Christemas the xv. daye of January the Parliament began to sytte and amongest dyvers griefes which the Commons were greved with, they sore complayned of the crueltie of the Ordinaries, for callynge men before theym *Ex officio:* that is, by reason of ther office: For the Ordinaries woulde sende for men and ley Accusacions to them of Heresye, and say they were accused, and ley Articles to them, but no Accuser should be brought furth, whiche to the Commons was very dredefull and grevous: for the partie so Assited must either Abjure or be burned, for Purgacion he myght make none.

When this matter and other Exactions done by the Clergy in their Courtes were long debated in the Common House, at the laste it was concluded and agreed, that all the griefes which the temporall men were greved with, shoulde be putte in writyng and delyvered to the Kyng, whiche by great advyce was done: wherfore, the xviii. day of Marche the Common speaker accompanyed with dyvers Knyghtes and Burgesses of the Common House came to the Kynges presence, and there declared to hym how the temporal men of his Realme were sore agreved wyth the cruell demeanoure of the Prelates and Ordinaryes, which touched bothe their bodyes and goodes, all whyche griefes, the Speaker delyvered to the Kyng in writynge, most humbly besechyng his grace to take

take soche an ordre and direction in that case, as to his hygh wysedome myght seme most convenient. Further he beseched the king to consider what payne, charge and coste, his humble subjectes of the nether house had susteyned syth the begynnynge of thys Parliament, and that it woulde please his grace of his Princelye benignitie to dissolve his courte of Parliament, that his subjectes myght repayre into their countreys. THE XXIII. YERE [1531-32]

When the Kynge had receyved the Supplicacion of the Commons, he paused a whyle and then sayde: It is not the offyce of a Kyng which is a Judge to be to lyghte of credence, nor I have not, nor wyll not use the same: for I wyll heare the partie that is accused speake or I geve any sentence: your booke conteyneth divers Articles of greate and weyghtye matters, and as I perceyve, it is agaynste the Spirituall persones and Prelates of oure Realme, of whiche thynge you desyre a redresse and a reformacion, whyche desyre and request is mere contraryant to your last Peticion: For you requyre to have the Parlyament dissolved and to departe into your countreys, and yet you would have a reformacion of your griefes wyth all diligence: Although that youre payne have ben great in tariynge, I assure you myne hath ben no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes is to me a pleasure: therefore yf you wyll have profyte of your complaynte, you must tary the tyme, or els to be without remedy: I moche commend you that you wyll not contende nor stand in stryfe with the Spirituall men, whiche be youre Christen brethren, but moche more me thynketh that you shoulde not contende with me that am youre Sovereygne Lorde and kyng, considerynge that I seke peace and quyetnesse of you: For I have sent to you a byll concernynge wardes and primer season, in the which thynges I am greatly wronged: wherfore I have offered you reason as I thynke, yea, and so thynketh all the Lordes, for they have set their handes to the booke: Therfore I assure you, yf you wyll not take some reasonable ende now when it is offered, I wyll serch out the extremitie of the lawe, and then wyll I not offre you so moche agayne: with this answere, the Speaker and his company departed. The cause why the Kyng spake these woordes was thys: Dayly men made Feoffementes of their landes to their uses, and declared their wylles of their landes with soch remaynders, that not alonly the kyng but all

The kynges saiynge.

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all other Lordes lost their Wardes, Mariages and relieffes, and the kyng also lost his primer season, and the profyte of the lyverey, which was to hym very prejudiciall and a greate losse: wherefore he, lyke an indifferent Prince, not willyng to take all, nor to lose all, caused a byll to be drawen by his learned councell, in the whyche was devysed, that every manne myght make his wyll of the halfe of hys lande, so that he lefte the other halfe to the heyre by discent. When thys Byll came fyrst amonges the Commons, lorde how the ignoraunt persones were greved, and howe shamefully they spake of the byll and of the Kynges learned Councell: but the wyse men which understoode and sawe the myschiefe to come, woulde gladly have had the byll to be assented to, or at the least to have put the kynge in a suretye of the thyrde or fourthe parte, which offer I was credebly informed the kyng woulde have taken: but many frowarde and wylfull persones, not regardynge what myght ensue (as it dyd in deede) woulde neither consent to the byll as the Lordes had agreed and set to their handes, nor yet agree to no reasonable qualificacion of the same, whiche they sore repented: For after this, the kyng called the Judges and best learned men of his Realme, and thei disputed this matter in the Chauncery, and agreed that lande coulde not be wylled by the ordre of the common law, wherupon an act was made, that no man myght declare his wyll of no parte of his land: which Acte sore greved the Lordes and Gentlemen that had manye chyldren to set furth. Therfore you may judge what myschiefe commeth of wylfull blyndnesse and lacke of foresyght in so great causes.

This Parliament was proroged tyll the tenth day of Apryll, in the whiche Parliament was an Acte made, that Bysshops shoulde paye no more Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope: for it was openly proved that there was payed for the Bulles of Bysshopes, in the fourthe yere of Kyng Henry the seventh, the kynges father, tyll this yere, one hundreth thre score thousand pounde sterlyng, besyde al other Dispensacions and Pardones, wherof the summe was incredible.

When the Parliament was begonne agayne after Ester, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chauncelloure, the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Oxforde, Northumbrelande, Rutlande, Wylshyre and Sussex, and after they were set, the Lorde Chauncellor declared, howe the kynge was advertised by hys Councell, and

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and in especiall by the Duke of Norffolke, howe on the Marches betwene Englande and Scotlande was very lytell habitacion on the Englysh syde, but on the Scottyshe syde was great habitacion, and the Scottes dwelled even juste on the border, by the reason wherof they invaded England dyvers tymes, and dyd to the kynges subjectes great hurte and displeasure: wherefore the kynge entended to make dwellyng houses there, and also to make new divers Pyles and stoppes to let the Scottysh men from their invasions, to the great commoditie of all his people there dwellyng, whych thynges coulde not be doone without great coste: Wherefore consideryng the Kynges good entente, he sayde, that the Lordes thoughte it conveniente to graunte to the kynge some reasonable ayde towarde hys charges, and prayed the Commons to consulte on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the commons considering the kynges good entent, lovingly graunted to him a xv. toward his charges, but this graunt was not enacted at this Sessyon, bicause that sodeinly began a Pestilence in Westmynster, wherfore the Parlyament was proroged tyll the next yere.

In this yere was an olde Tolle demaunded in Flaunders of Englyshmen, called the Tolle of the Hounde, whiche is a Ryver and a passage: The Tolle is xii. pence of a Fardell. This Tolle had ben often tymes demaunded, but never payed: in so muche that Kyng Henry the seventh, for the demaunde of that Tolle, prohibited all hys subjectes to kepe any Marte at Antwerpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be kepte at Calyes: at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Tolle shoulde never be demaunded, so that the Englysh men woulde resorte agayne into the Dukes countrey, and after that, it was not demaunded tyll now: Wherefore the Kyng sent Doctor Knyght and other to Calyes, and thyther came themperours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspence for a tyme.

Ye have hearde before how the kyng had purchased the Bysshope of Yorkes place, whiche was a fayre Bysshops house, but not meete for a kyng: wherefore the Kyng purchased all the medowes about saynct James, and all the whole house of S. James, and ther made a fayre mansion and a parke, and buylded many costlye and commodious houses for great pleasure.

Now

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Now muste I declare to you a noble enterprise, although it wer not doone in England, yet bicause divers Englysh men were at that aventure, I wyll declare it as the Lorde Master of the Religion of Saynt Jhons wrote to the Lorde of saynct Jhons in Englande: The Lorde Master of the Religion, lamentynge sore the losse of the Rodes, whych he thought not sone to be recovered, consydered that the Turke helde the towne of Modon whiche standeth on the See syde, and is a fayre Porte, and woulde have gladlye had that towne oute of the Turkes possession, called to him a trusty servaunt of hys, called Caloram, which was well langaged, and to hym declared, that he woulde have hym to sayle to Modon, and to dwell there as a Turke unknowen, and yf he might by any meanes to come into service with Massie de Huga, which was Capitayne there. Caloram answered, that to go thyther for the accomplyshyng of the Lord masters desyre, he was very well content, but to come in servyce and favoure wyth the Capitayne, muste come in processe of tyme and by continuaunce, and that not wythout great expence: The Lorde Maister promysed hym sufficient treasure and a great rewarde: When Caloram was perfectly enstructed in all thyng he toke his leave and came prively to Modon, and there dwelled, and within shorte space he was the Capitayns servaunt, and for his great diligence was with his maister in great favoure. Then he wrote to the Lorde Mayster all thynge, and assertayned hym that hys entent coulde not take effecte hastely, but bade hym ever be readye. Thys matter thus contynued twoo yeare, in whyche tyme Caloram well perceyved howe the towne myght be taken, and therefore wrote to the lord Master, whiche shortly came to a place called Mucollutea. The Turkes have a condicion in August and Septembre, to resorte into the countrey to see the fruytes, and to solace theim selfe, wherfore the Lord Master appoynted the Prior of Rome and the Turcuplyar of England to bee Capitaynes of this enterprise, and with them were lx. knightes of the Religion, and vii. C. and fyftye souldiers in vi. Galyes and Brigantes, and passed in the Cape Blanke in the lande of Calaber, the xviii. day of August, and there they ankered: and from that place they myght sayle lx. myle to Modon, under the hylles of Stroffadees. And in the waye they stopped all the shippes that

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that passed toward Modon: and from thence they sent woorde to Caloram, which sent them woorde, not to be to hastye: for the Venicians had reported in Modon, that the Galeyes of the Religion were on the see: and also a Capitayne of the Turkes, called Frombylam was come to Modon with ii. C. horsmen to vew the towne so that Caloram was in great feare of his enterprice. But the same nyght there came to Modon a Gripe or small vesell, in the which were thre knyghtes of the Religion all in marynors arrey, and there sought for fresh water and other victails necessary, which knightes spake with Caloram, and the same day the Capitayne Frombylam departed from Modon. Then Caloram sent worde to the Capitaynes, that he trusted that their journey shoulde be well sped: which knightes departed and came to the Capitaynes, whiche wysely assembled all their people at a Roade called Stroffades, and there declared their commission of their Lord Master, and also shewed Calorams letters, whereof every man was greatly comforted to know what enterprise they went about. Then it was appoynted that the Prior of Rome shoulde fyrst entre and take the gate of the principall tower, and the Turkeiplier with vi. Englishe knyghtes were appoynted to defende the Molle or Pere at the haven mouthe: and to every gate was a Capitayn appoynted with a nombre for the gates of the towne and the Fortresses were well knowen to the Religion of S. Jhon Baptist. When all this ordre was appoynted, the Galies disancored and came to the Ile of Sapience, iii. myle from Modon. All this whyle Caloram was in great feare, tyll the two Capiteins sent a vessell called a Gripe, and in her iii. C. men: Thei wer no soner entered the peere, but the Turkes came a borde and asked for the merchauntz (for all the men wer apparelled lyke Mariners) they answered that the Merchauntes which had the charge wer gone a land into the towne, and sayde thei would bring them to the Merchauntes, and that al their merchaundise was good wodde, which thyng the Turkes moch desyre: So the christen knyghtes lyke mariners went with the Turkes, which wer to the nombre of xiii. entending to begyn their enterprise, and some went toward the tower, and some went toward the gate followyng the xiii. Turkes, and after them issued all the souldiers out of the Gripe, and so with force thei got the gate,

Modon taken.

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gate, and after that the molle or pyre, and on that set a banner of the Religion to the which Caloram helped moch: with that came all the Galyes and landed. Then began a terrible slaughter of all partes, the Turkes fled, and the Christen men followed, and the Capitaynes tooke the walles, and from thence Caloram lead them to the house of Mesyre Huga, in whiche house was a greate strength: For his house was lyke a Fortresse or tower, whych joyned to the walle of the towne, out of which was a Posterne, wherof issued out certayn Turkes which askryed the Christen men abrode in the countrey. But in the meane season the Christen men assauted the sayde Fortresse, whiche was sore defended: and there the Prior of Rome was by a hackbush slayn, whyche chaunce made the Cristen men more furious, and slew in the towne iii. C. Turkes and above. Then they blew to retreite and councelled together and well perceyved that they coulde not kepe the towne excepte thei had the fortresse or tower, which they could not obtayne without a Siege, and then they had no ordinaunce nor people ynough, therfore they determined to take their most advauntage by pyllage, and so spoyled the towne and toke viii. C. prisoners and sent them to the Galyes. And when the Turkes saw the Christen men styl pylfer (as the usage of souldiers is) they issued out of their holde and fortresse and fought with the Christen men boldely in the stretes, so that the stretes ranne bloode in the canels, the fyghte was sore: and ever the Turkes came in at the posterne by askry, and assauted the Christen men, which valiauntly defended them and for all the Turkes power came to their Galies with their pray and prisoners, and came to the Ile of Malto wyth all their bootye, not leesyng xl. persones in all their journey, whereof the Lorde Master was moche rejoyced and well rewarded Caloram, which also came with them to Malto. This enterprise was dooen on a sonday, beynge the xviii. day of August, the yere of our Lord a thousand, fyve hundreth, thyrtie and one, and this xxiii. yere of his Reigne.

After this enterprise, the xxii. daye of Septembre, dyed lady Loyse Dutchesse of Angulesme and mother to the Frenche kyng, a wyse and a sad Lady: whereof the kynge beynge advertised, caused a solempne Obsequye to be made and kepte

kepte for her in the Abbey of Waltham in Essex, at the whiche solempnytie, the Kynge and a great nombre of the Nobles and Prelates of the Realme wer present in mournyng apparell at the Kynges coste and charge.

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THE XXIIII. YERE.

IN the begynnynge of this xxiiii. yere the Ladye Anne Bulleyne was so moche in the Kynges favoure, that the commen people whiche knewe not the Kynges trew entent, sayd and thought that the absence of the Quene was onely for her sake, which was not trew: for the kyng was openly rebuked of Preachers for kepyng company with hys brothers wyfe, which was thoccasyon that he eschued her company, tyll the truth wer tryed.

The last daie of Aprill the parliament sittyng, the kyng sent for Thomas Awdeley, Spekar of the common house, and certaine other, and declared to them, how they had exhibited a boke of their greves the last yere against the Spiritualtie, whiche at their requestes, he had delivered to his spirituall subjectes, to make aunswere there to, but he could have no aunswere, till within thre daies last past: which aunswer he delivered to the Spekar, saiyng, we thynke their aunswere will smally please you, for it semeth to us very slender, you bee a greate sorte of wysemen, I doubt not but you wyll loke circumspectly on the matter, and we wyll be indifferent, betwene you. And for a truth their aunswere was very Sophisticall, and nothyng avoydyng the greves of the laye people: And farther the kyng saied, that he marveiled not a litle, why one of the Parliament house spake openly, of the absence of the Quene from hym, whiche matter was not to be determined there, for he saied it touched his soule, and wisshed the matrimony to be good, for then had he never bene vexed in conscience, but the docters of the universities saied he, have determined the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, whiche grudge of conscience, caused me to abstein from her compaignie, and no folishe or wanton appetite: for I am saied he xli. yere old, at whiche age the lust of man is not so quicke, as in lustie youth: and savyng in Spayne or Portyngall it hath not bene sene, that one man hath maried twoo sisters,

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sisters, the one beyng carnally knowen before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife was so abhorred amongest all nacions, that I never hearde it, that any Christen man did it, but my selfe: wherfore you se my conscience troubled and so I praye you reporte: so the Spekar departed, and declared to the commons the kynges saiyng, bothe of the Spirituall mennes aunswere, and also concernyng the kynges mariage, which slight aunswere displesed the commons.

The occasion why the kyng spake of his mariage, was because one Temse in the common house, moved the commons to sue to the kyng, to take the Quene again into his compaignie, and declared certain greate mischiefes, as in bastardyng the Lady Marie, the kynges onely chylde, and diverse other inconveniences, whiche woordes were reported to the kyng, whiche was the cause that he declared his conscience.

The xi. daie of Maie, the kyng sent for the Spekar again, and xii. of the common house, havyng with hym eight Lordes, and saied to theim, welbeloved subjectes, we thought that the clergie of our realme, had bene our subjectes wholy, but now wee have well perceived, that they bee but halfe our subjectes, yea, and scace our subjectes: for all the Prelates at their consecracion, make an othe to the Pope, clene contrary to the othe that they make to us, so that they seme to be his subjectes, and not ours, the copie of bothe the othes, I delyver here to you, requiryng you to invent some ordre, that we bee not thus deluded, of our Spirituall subjectes. The Spekar departed, and caused the othes to be redde in the common house, the very tenor wherof ensueth.

Othe to the Pope.

I Jhon Bishop or Abbot of A. from this houre forward, shalbe faithefull and obedient to sainct Peter, and to the holy Churche of Rome, and 'to my lorde the Pope, and his 'successors Canonically enteryng, I shall not be of counsaill 'nor content, that they shall lese either life or member, or 'shall bee taken, or suffre any violence, or any wrong by 'any meanes, their Counsaill to me credited, by theim their 'messyngers or letters, I shall not willyngly discover to any 'person: the Papacie of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, 'and the Regalie of sainct Peter, I shall help and retain, and 'defende against all men: the Legate of the Sea Apos-'tolicke, goyng and commyng I shall honourably entreate, 'the

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'the rightes, honors, privileges, aucthorities of the Churche 'of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall cause 'to bee concerved, defended, augmented, and promoted, I 'shall not bee in counsail, treatie, or any acte, in the whiche 'any thyng shalbe imagened against hym, or the Churche of 'Rome, there rightes, states, honors, or powers. And if I 'knowe any suche to bee moved or compassed, I shall 'resist it to my power, and as sone as I can, I shall 'advertyse hym, or suche as maie geve hym knowlege. 'The rules of the holy fathers, the Decrees, Ordinaunces, 'Sentences, Disposicions, Reservacions, Provisions, and 'Commaundementes Apostolicke, to my power I shall kepe 'and cause to be kept of other: Heretickes, Sismatikes, 'and rebelles to our holy father and his successors, I shall 'resist and persecute to my power, I shall come to the 'Sinode, when I am called, except I bee letted by a 'Canonicall impediment, the lightes of the Apostles I 'shall visite yerely personally, or by my deputie, I shall 'not alien nor sell my possessions, without the Popes 'Counsaill: so God me helpe and the holy Evangelistes.

Othe to the Kyng.

I Jhon Byshop A. utterly renounce and clerely forsake, all suche clauses, woordes, sentences, and grauntes, whiche I have or shall have 'here after, of the Popes holines of and 'for the Byshopricke of A. that in any wise hath bene, is 'or hereafter maie bee hurtefull, or prejudiciall too your 'highnes, your heires, successors, dignitie, privilege, or 'estate royall: and also I dooe swere, that I shalbe faithfull 'and true, and faithe and truth I shall beare to you my 'sovereigne lorde, and to your heires kynges of the same, 'of lyfe and lymme, and yearthly worship above all 'creatures, for to live and die with you and yours, against 'all people, and diligently I shalbe attendant, to all your 'nedes and busynes, after my wytt and power, and your 'counsaill I shall kepe and holde, knowlegyng my self to 'hold my byshopricke of you onely, besechyng you of 'restitucion of the temporalties of the same, promysyng 'as before, that I shalbe faithefull, true, and obedient 'subject to your saied highnes heires, and successors, 'duryng my lyfe, and the services and other thynges dewe 'to youre highnes, for the restitucion of the Temporalties, 'of the same Bishoprike I shall truely dooe and obediently 'perfourme, so God me helpe and all sainctes.

The

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The openyng of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within two yere folowyng, lost all his jurisdiccion in Englande, as you shall here afterward. The xiiii. daie the parliament was proroged, till the iiii. daie of February next ensuyng. After whiche prorogacion, syr Thomas More, Chaunceller of England, after long sutes made to the kyng to be discharged of that office, the xvi. daie of Maie, he delivered to the kyng at Westminster, the greate Seale of Englande, and was with the kynges favour discharged, whiche Seale the kyng kept till Whitsontide folowyng, and on the Mondaie in Whitson weke, he dubbed Thomas Awdeley, Spekar of the parliament knight, and made hym lorde keper of the great Seale, and so was he called.

Thomas Awdeley keper of the great seale.

The kyng beyng in progresse this Sommer, was advertised that the Pope and the Frenche kyng, had appoynted to mete at Marcelles in Province, in the begynnyng of the nexte Sprynge, wherefore the Kyng like a wise and pollitike prince, thought it convenient to speake with the Frenche kyng in his awne persone, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to hym bothe the determinacion, of the Universities and Doctors, concernyng his Matrimonie, and also the generall counsailes, whiche ordeined suche causes, to be tried in the provinces and countreis, where the doubt should ryse, trustyng that the Frenche kyng should cause the Pope to encline to Goddes lawe, and to leave his awne tradicions, and voyde dispensacions, whereupon bothe the princes concluded, to mete in October folowyng, betwene Callice and Bulleyn: wherefore the kyng of Englande sent out his letters, to his nobilitie, prelates, and servauntes, commaundyng theim to bee ready at Cantorbury, the xxvi. daie of September, to passe the Seas wyth hym, for the accomplishyng of the entervew, betwene hym and his brother the Frenche kyng. Many men were sory to here, that the kyng should passe the sea in Winter, and specially in October, when the seas be rough, but their saiynges letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Ampthill to Wynsore where on Sundaie beyng the firste daie of September, he created the lady Anne Bulleyn, Marchiones of Penbroke, and gave to her one thousand pound lande by the yere, and that solempnitie finished, he rode to the College to Masse, and when

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A new league.

when the Masse was ended, a newe league was concluded and sworne, betwene the kyng and the Frenche kyng, Messire Pomeray the Frenche Ambassador then beyng present. After whiche othe taken, Doctor Fox the kynges amner, made an eloquent oracion in Latin, in praise of peace, love, and amitie: whiche dooen the trumpettes blewe, and the kyng returned to the Castell, where was kepte a solempne feast. From thence the kyng removed to Grenewyche, and so forward to Cantorbury, where at the daie appoynted, he found ready furnyshed, all suche as were commaunded to passe the Sea with hym, well and rychely adorned, bothe they and their servauntes.

The x. daie of October, the kyng came to Dover, and on the xi. daie in the mornyng beyng Frydaie, at three of the clocke, he tooke shippyng in Dover rode, and before x. of the clocke the same daie, he with the lady Marchiones of Pembroke, landed at Caleis, where he was honorably received with procession, and brought to sainct Nicholas churche, where he hard Masse, and so to his place called Thexchequer, where he lodged. And on the Sondaie after came to Caleis, the lorde Roche Baron, and Monsire de Mountpesat, messengers from the French kyng, advertisyng the kyng of England, that the French kyng would repaire to Abuile the same night marchyng towarde Bulleyne, of whiche tidynges the kyng was very glad: but sodaynly came a messenger, and reported that the great Master of Fraunce, and the Archebyshoppe of Roan, with diverse noble men of Fraunce, were come to Sandifeld, entendyng to come to Caleis, to salute the kyng, from the kyng their Master. He beyng thereof advertised, sent in greate hast the xv. daie of October, the Duke of Norffolke the Marques of Excester, the Earles of Oxford, Darby, and Rutlande, the lorde Sandes, and the lorde Fitzwater, with iii. C. gentelmen, which honorably received the French lordes, at the Englishe pale, and so brought them to the kynges presence in Caleis, which stode under a riche clothe of estate of suche value that they muche mused of the ryches. The kyng (as he that knewe all honor and nurture) received the Frenche lordes, very lovyngly and amiably, and with them toke a daie and place of metyng: these lordes were highly feasted, and after diner departed to Bullein.

While the kyng lay thus in Caleis, he vewed the walles, towers,

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towers, and Bulwerkes, and devised certain newe fortifications, for the maintenance and defence of the toune. The toune of Caleis had at this season, xxiiii. C. beddes and stablyng for ii. M. horses, beside the villages adjacent.

The xx. daie of this moneth the kyng beyng advertysed, that the Frenche kyng was come to a village called Marguison, nigh to the Englyshe pale, marched out of Caleis the next daie after, accompaignied with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and with the Marquesses of Dorcet and Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutlande, Huntyngdon, and Sussex, and diverse Viscountes, Barons, Knightes of the Garter, and Gentelmen freshely appareled, and richely trymmed, and so passed toward the place, appoynted for the entervewe, levyng behynd them the greatest part of the yomen in Caleis, because that Bulleyne was to litle for bothe the traynes. For the Frenchemen saied their train was xx. M. horse, whiche caused the Englishemen to cast many perelles, and especially because it was bruted abrode, that the Frenche kyng should saye, the Kyng of Englande was once his enemie, and mainteined the Emperor, and the duke of Burbon against hym, and nowe he was become his moost frende. The rehersyng of these olde grudges, many Englishmen suspected, and very lothe that the kyng should go to Bulleyne, but the kyng continued still in his jorney, and came to Sandyngfelde, and a lytle from that place in a valey, was the Frenche kyng nobely accompaignied, with three hundred horse, and not muche more. The Kynges train waved on the lefte hande, to geve the Frenche Kynge and his train the right hande: lykewyse did the Frenche part, to geve the Englishemen the right hande so the two kynges with all lovely honour met with bare heddes, and embrased other in suche fashion, that all that behelde them rejoysed. The kyng of England was appareled, in a cote of greate riches, in braides of golde laied lose on Russet Velvet, and set with Traifoyles, full of pearle and stone. The Frenche kyng was in a coate of crimosin velvet, all to cut, lined with slender clothe of gold plucked out through the cuttes. The noblemen on both parties, were richely appareled, and as was reported, the Frenche kyng saied openly to the kyng of Englande: syr you be the same persone, that I am moste bounde to in the worlde, and

The Kynges apparell.

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and sithe it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I am bound in persone to seke you, and for the very frendship, that I have found in you, I am yours and will bee, and so I require you to take me, and with that put of his bonet: the kyng of England soberly aunswered. If ever I did thyng to your likyng I am glad, and as touchyng the payn to come hether to se you, I assure you it is my greate comforte, yea, and I had come farther to have visited you. Then the kynges embrased the lordes and estates, as the French kyng the lordes of Englande, and the kyng of Englande, the lordes of Fraunce, and that done, they set forward toward Bulleyne, and in ridyng they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to the Kytes, whiche made to them greate sporte. And in a valey beyonde Sandyngfeld, the kyng of Naver met the kynges, and there they a lighted and dranke, and after that they mounted on horsebacke, and with haukyng and other princely pastyme, they came nere to Bulleyn, where on a hill stode ranged in a faire bande, the nomber of five hundred menne on horsebacke of whom the chief were, the Frenche kynges three sonnes, the Dolphyn, the Duke of Orleaunce, and the Duke of Angulesme, and on them gave attendaunce, the Admirall of Fraunce, and thre Cardinalles with diverse other nobles of Fraunce: these three Princes marched forwarde, and welcomed the kyng of Englande, whiche them well behelde and lovyngly them received, as he that could as muche nurture, as any Prince that ever was. Then the Frenche kyng saied to his children openly: My children, I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as muche bound, as to me your naturall father, for he redemed me and you from captivitie: wherfore on my blessyng I charge you, to be to hym lovyng alwaies. The kyng of Englande ceased the Frenche kynges tale, and embrased the young Princes, eche after other: all their three apparelles were blacke Velvet, embraudered with silver of Damaske. Then all these noble compaignie came to Bulleyne, where was a greate shot of Artillery, for on the one syde they shot great pellettes, whiche made a greate noyse: then these twoo Princes offered at our Lady of Bulleyne, and the Frenche kyng brought the kyng of Englande to his lodgyng, in the Abbay directly against his awne lodgyng, where the kyng of Englande had diverse chambers, the utter chamber was hanged

The saiyng of the French kyng.

The Kynges commyng to Bulleyn.

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hanged with faire Arras, and another chamber was hanged with grene Velvet, embraudered with Vinettes of gold, and fret with flowers of Silver, and small twigges of wrethen worke, and the myddle of every pane, or pece, was a fable of Ovid in Matamorphoseos embraudered, and a clothe of estate of the same worke, valanced with frettes, knotted and langettes tassaled with Venice gold and sylver : and in this chamber was hanged a great braunche of silver percell gilte, to beare lyghtes. Then was there an inner chamber, hanged with ryche clothe of gold of tissue, and the rofe siled with the same : the iiii. chamber was with velvet, and hachementes of armes, and divises of nedle worke, very connyngly wrought. Every man was appoynted to his lodgyng (whiche there was very straight) accordyng too his degree, and great chere was made to al the Englishemen : the Poulters, Larders, Spicereis, and Sellars of Wine were all open, and lykewyse Hay and Litter, and al other thinges, aske and have and no man durst take any money, for the Frenche kyng paied for all.

The Frenche kyng caused twoo gounes to be made of white Velvet, pricked with gold of damaske, and the capes and ventes, were of frettes of whipped golde of damaske very ryche, whiche twoo gounes he sent to the kyng of Englande, praynge hym to chose the one, and to weare it for his sake, whiche gladly toke it, and so that Tewesdaie, the twoo kynges were bothe in one suite : the same night the French kyng made to the king of Englande a supper in his chamber, whiche was hanged with Arras, and siled over with riche silke, and two clothes of estates were set up, one at the one ende, and the other at the other ende, the one clothe was embraudered with the image of an old man, and a woman with a naked child in her arme and the woman gave the old man sucke of her brest, and about was written in French : *Better it is children wantonly to wepe, then old men for nede to perishe.* On the other clothe of estate, was embraudered the sunne goyng doune of fine gold, and a beast theron, the hed covered with a helme, and a coronall of a dukes estate, the beastes body was al perle, and the cloth was crimosyn satten. A riche cupbord was set up of plate, with a great nomber of peces of the newe fashion, iiii. great braunches hong in the chamber, all of silver and gilt, which bare torches of white ware, al the gentlemen of Fraunce

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Fraunce made thenglishemen great chere, and served them of delicate viandes.

In the Churche of Bulleyne was a Traverse set up for the Frenche kyng, open on every side, savyng it was siled with blewe velvet, enbraudered with flower Delices golde the pillers were hanged with the same worke: On the Frenche kynges right hand, was another traverse syled, and cortened all of white Satten, embraudered with Cables cast, of cut clothe of gold, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that Mariners cast their ropes: this traverse was valensed of like woorke, and fringed with fine gold. Daily the kynges heard their Masses in these traverses and commonly they went together to Masse. Diverse tymes the kynges communed together in counsaill, and some tyme in the mornyng, or the princes were stirring, their counsailes met, and sat together agreat whyle.

While the kyng of Englande, lay thus at Bulleyn, the Frenche kyng to shewe hymselfe lovyng to the noble men of Englande, the xxv. daie of October, called a Chapiter of the compaignions of his Ordre, called Sainct Michell, of whom the kyng of Englande was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and Charles Duke of Suffolke, to bee compaignions of the saied Ordre, whiche were brought into the Chapiter, and had there Collers delivered to theim, and were sworne to the Statutes of the Ordre, their obeysaunce to their sovereigne Lorde, alwayes reserved: whiche Dukes thanked the Frenche kyng, and gave to the Officers of Armes twoo hundred Crounes a pece. All this season the Frenche kyng and his court were freshe, and his garde were appareled, in frockes of blewe Crimosyn, and yelowe velvet. With the Frenche kyng, was the kyng of Naver, the Dolphyn of Vien, the Dukes of Orliaunce, Angulesme, Vandosme, Evise, Longuile, the Earles of Sainct Paule, Nevers, Estampes, Lavall, and many other Erles and Barons and the prince of Melffe, foure Cardinalles, and eleven bishoppes with their traines and resort, whiche surely was a greate compaignie: so continued these twoo kynges at Bulleyn, Mondaie, Tewesdaie, Wednesdaie, and Thursdaie, and on Fridaie the xxv. daie of October, they departed out of Bulleyn to Calice: the Frenche kynges train was twelve hundred persones, and so many horse or more, and without Calice twoo mile, met with

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with them the Duke of Richemond, the kynges bastard sonne of England, a goodly young Prynce, and full of favoure and beautie, with a greate compaignie of noblemen, whiche were not at Bulleyne, so the Duke with his compaignie, embrased the Frenche kyng, and so dyd other noble men, then the lordes of England set forward, as the Dukes of Rychemond, Norfolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, and Huntyngdon, the Viscountes of Lisle and Rocheforde, the Byshoppes of London, Wynchester, Lyncolne, and Bathe, the lorde Wylliam Haward, the lorde Matraverse, the lorde Mountacute, the lord Cobham, the lord Sandes, the lorde Bray, the lorde Mordant, the lorde Leonard Grey, the lorde Clynton, and sir William Fitzwillyam knight, tresorer of the kynges house, and sir William Paulet, Comptroller of the same with a greate nomber of knyghtes, besyde the lustie Esquires and yong gentlemen. These noble personages and gentlemen of England, accompaignied the Frenche Lordes to Newnam Bridge, where as Thomas Palmer, capitain of the fortresse, with a faire compaignie of souldiours saluted the Kynges, and so they passed towarde Calice: Where at their commyng, that what out of the Toune and the Castle, and what out of Ricebanke, and the Shyppes in the Haven, the Frenche men saied they never heard suche a shotte: And when they were entered the Mille gate, all the Souldiours of the Toune, stoode on the one syde, appareled in Redde and Blewe, and on the other side of the stretes, stoode all the servyng menne of Englande, in coates of Frenche Tawney, with their lordes and Masters divises embraudered, and every manne a Scarlette cap and a white fether, whiche made a goodly shewe: there were lodged in Caleis that night, beside the toune dwellers, eight thousand persones at the least.

The firste Chamber.

The kyng of England brought the French kyng to his lodgyng, to the Staple in, where his chamber was hanged with so rich verdore, as hath not bene sene, the ground of it was gold and damaske, and all over the tuffes and flowers, were of Satten Sylke and Sylver, so curiously wrought that they semed to growe, every chamber was rycher and other: the second chamber all of Tissue, with a clothe of estate of nedle worke, set with great Roses of large

The seconde Chamber.

large pearle. The third was hanged with Velvet, upon velvet pirled grene and Crimosyn, and embraudered over with braunches, of flowers of gold Bullion, and garnyshed with armes and beastes of the same gold, set with pearle and stone. If the Frenche kyng made good chere to the kyng of Englande, and his trayne at Bulleyne, I assure you he and his traine, were requited at Caleis, for the plentie of wylde foule, Venison, Fishe, and all other thinges whiche were there, it was marveil to see, for the kynges Officers of England had made preparacion in every place, so that the Frenchemen were served, with suche multitude of diverse fishes, this Fridaie and Saterdaie, that the masters of the Frenche kynges houshold, muche wondered at the provison. In likewise on the Sondaie, they had al maner of fleshe, foule, spice, Venison, bothe of falowe Dere and redde Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was thenglishe man that might well entertain the Frenche man : the lordes of Fraunce never fetched their viandes, but thei were sent to them, and often tyme their proporcion of victaill was so abundaunt, that they refused a greate parte thereof.

THE XXIIII. YERE [1532-33] The thirde Chamber.

While the kynges were thus in Caleis, they roade every daie to saint Marie Churche, where were set twoo traverses, the one for the Frenche Kyng, whiche was Crimosyn Velvet, replenished with greate Roses of massy Bullion of fyne golde, and the seede of the saied Roses were great orient pearle, and about every Rose, was a wrethe all of pearle and stone whiche traverse was muche wondered at by the Frenchemen : the other traverse of blewe Velvet and clothe of Tissue, raised with flowers of silver paned, al the blewe Velvet was embroudered with knottes, and subtle draughtes, of leaves and braunches, that fewe men could judge the cunnyng of the workemanship. The sundaie at night, the Frenche kyng supped with the kyng of Englande, in a chamber hanged with tissue, reised with silver, paned with cloth of silver, reised with gold, and the semes of the same were covered with brode wrethes, of goldsmithes worke, full of stone and perle. In this chamber was a coberd of vii. stages hygh, all of plate of gold, and no gilt plate, beside that there hong in the said chamber x. braunches of silver and gilt, and x. braunches al white silver, every braunche hangyng by a long chain of the same sute, beryng

the traverses.

The Supper made to the French kyng.

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v. lightes of waxe. To tell the ryches of the clothes of estates, the basens and other vessels whiche was there occupied, I assure you my wit is insufficient, for there was nothyng occupied that night, but al of gold. The French kyng was served iii. courses, and his meat dressed after the French fashion, and the kyng of Englande had like courses after thenglishe fashion, the first course of every kyng was xl. dishes, the second lx. the third lxx. which wer costly and plesant.

After supper came in the Marchiones of Penbroke, with vii. ladies in Maskyng apparel, of straunge fashion, made of clothe of golde, compassed with Crimosyn Tinsell Satyn, owned with clothe of Sylver, liyng lose and knit with laces of gold : these ladies were brought into the Chamber, with foure damoselles appareled in Crimosyn sattyn, with tabardes of fine Cipres : The lady Marques tooke the Frenche kyng, and the Countes of Darby, toke the kyng of Naver, and every lady toke a lorde, and in daunsyng the kyng of Englande toke awaie the ladies visers, so that there the ladies beauties were shewed, and after they had daunsed a while they ceased, and the French kyng talked with the Marchiones of Penbroke a space, and then he toke his leave of the Ladies, and the kyng conveighed hym to his lodgyng : The same night the Duke of Norffolke feasted all the nobles of Fraunce, beyng there in the castle of Caleis, with many goodly sportes and pastymes.

On the Mondaie beyng Symon and Judes daie, there dyned with the kyng of England, the kyng of Naver, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the greate Master, and Admirall of Fraunce, on whiche daie the kyng of Englande, called a Chapiter of the knightes of the Gartier, at whiche Chapiter the Frenche kyng ware the blewe Mantel of the ordre, because he was of the same ordre, and there were elected, Annas Memorancie erle of Beaumont, greate Master of the Frenche kynges house, and Phylip de Chabbot erle of Newblanke, greate Admirall of Fraunce, whiche had to them their Collers and Garters delivered, for the which they rendered to the kyng greate thankes.

The morowe after beyng the thirtie daie of October, the two kynges departed out of Caleis, and came nere to Sandyngfeld, and there alyghted in a faire grene place, where was a table set, and there the Englishemen served the

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The Kynges departure.

the Frenchemen of wyne, Ypocras, fruite, and spice abondantly. When the two kynges had communed a litle, they mounted on their horses, and at the very enteryng of the Frenche grounde, they toke handes, and with Princely countenaunce, lovyng behavor, and hartie wordes, eche embrased other and so there departed.

While the kyng of Englande was in the Frenche kynges dominion, he had the upper hand, and likewise had the Frenche kyng, in his dominion, and as the Frenche kyng paied, all the Englishemens charges at Bulleyn, so did the kyng of England at Caleis, so that every thyng was recompensed: savyng that the kyng of England, gave to the French kyng, diverse precious Juelles and great horses, and to his nobles great plentie of plate, for the which I could never heare, that he gave the kyng of Englande any other thyng, but the white goune, as you have hard, but to the lordes of the kynges counsaill, he gave certain plate and chaines.

When the kyng was returned to Calice, many gentlemen tooke shyp to saile into Englande, but the wynd was so contrariant, that diverse of them were driven backe again into Calice, and diverse into Flaunders, and in November rose suche a Wynde, of the North and North Weste, that all the shippes in Caleis haven, were in great jeoperdy, and in especial the Hoyes, at whiche season was such a spryng tide, that it brake the walles of Holland and Zelande, and drouned diverse tounes in Flaunders, in so muche that the water rose three foote above the wharfe, where the Key stode in Andwerpe: this storme continued till the fourth daie of November, but for all that the wynd chaunged not. The eight daie rose suche a Wynde tempest and Thonder, that no man could conveniently stirre in the streates of Caleis: muche lamentacion was made for them that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knewe what was become of them. On Sondaie the wether was faire, the kyng caused his bedde and other thynges to be shypped, and entended to departe, but sodainly rose suche a mist, that no Master could guide a ship, and so he taried that daie. On Tewesdaie at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Dover the morowe after, beyng the xiiii. daie of November, at v. of the clocke in the mornyng, wherefore the Saterdaie after, was song *Te deum* in the Cathedrall Churche

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Churche of sainct Paule in London: the Lorde keper of the great Seale, the Maior of London, and diverse other noble and sad persones (whiche made their abode in London, for the governaunce of the realme in the kynges absence) beyng present. The kyng after his returne, maried privily the lady Anne Bulleyn, on sainct Erkenwaldes daie, whiche mariage was kept so secrete, that very fewe knewe it, til she was greate with childe, at Easter after.

The kyng maried to Lady Anne bulleine.

When the kyng should passe over the sea, he considered that the Scottes had robbed his subjectes, bothe by sea and land, and that no redresse was made for the same, imagined that in his absence, they would attempt some outragious enterprise against his people, wherfore like a prudent prince to be in a suretie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with thre hundred tall menne to Barwicke, to defende the invasions of the Scottes. The Scottes hearyng of his commyng, came into Northumberlande, by the middle marches, and came to a place called Fowbery, and in their jorney fired certain villages and returned. Sir Arthur Darcy hearyng of this aventure was nothyng contente. Nowe at this season there laie at Berwicke, Archibald Doglas Erle of Angus, whiche had maried the Quene of Scottes, the kynges syster, and was banished Scotlande and she was from hym divorsed, and maried to another. The Scottes bragged of their enterprise, and saied that sir Arthur had brought them good lucke, and said, that he and the Erle of Angus, slepte well in Barwicke: they hearyng of this bragge, made a roade with iiii. C. men into Scotland, and set a village on fire: then shortly assembled together viii. C. Scottes. When thenglishmen perceived the Scottes, they caused their trompet to blowe a retreate, and the Erle and xx with hym, shewed hym self on a hill, even in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpette blewe at their backes, so that the Scottes thought that there had bene ii. compaignies, whiche caused the Scottes to flie, and the Englishemen folowed, and slewe a greate nomber, and toke many prisoners, and brought them to Berwicke, the twentie daie of October.

The Kyng this yere kepte his Christemas at Grenewyche, and after Christmas sir Thomas Awdeley, Lorde keper of the great Seale, was made Chaunceller of Englande, and when the Parliament beganne, because the office of the Spekar

Spekar was voyde, Humfrey Wyngfeld of Grais Inne, was elected Spekar of the parliament, whiche was presented accordyng as you have heard, of the other Spekar before. In the whiche Parliament was made an acte, that no persone should appeale for any cause out of this realme, to the Courte of Rome, but from Commisiarie to the Byshoppe, and from Byshop to the Archebishop, and from Archebyshop to the kyng, and all causes of the kyng, to bee tried in the upper house of the Convocacion. And in the same parliament was enacted that Quene Katheryn should from thence furth, be no more called quene, but princes Dowager, of prince Arthur.

THE XXIIII. YERE [1532-33] Sir Thomas Awdeley made Chauncellor.

In this Sommer season last past, died Willyam Warham Archebyshoppe of Cantorbury, and to that Byshopryck was named, Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kynges chappelain, a man of good learnyng, and of a verteous lyfe, whiche also not long before, was the kynges Ambassadour to the byshop of Rome, whiche was consecrate in Lent.

After the kyng perceiving his newe wife Quene Anne, to bee greate with childe, caused all officers necessary, to bee appoynted to her, and so on Easter even, she went to her Closet openly as Quene, with all solempnitie, and then the kyng appoynted the daie of her Coronacion, to bee kept on Whitsondaie next folowyng, and writynges were sent to all Shrives, to certifie the names of menne of fourtie pounde, to receive the Ordre of knighthod, or els to make a fyne: the assessement of whiche fines, were appoynted to Thomas Cromwell, Master of the Kynges Juell house, and counsailer to the Kyng, and newly in his hygh favour, whiche so pollityquely handeled the matter, that he raised of that sessyng of fines, a great somme of money to the kynges use: Also the kyng wrote letters to the citie of London, to prepare pagiauntes, against the same coronacion.

THE XXV. YERE.

THE kyng in the beginnyng of this xxv. yere, kepte the daie of sainct George, at his Manor of Grenewiche, with great solempnitie, and the Courte was greatly replenished, with lordes, knightes, and with Ladies and Gentelwomen, to a great nomber, with all solace

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solace and pleasure. You have hard the last yere, how the parliament had enacted, that no person should after a daie, appele to Rome for any cause, whatsoever it were, and that the Quene, now called the Prynces Dowager, had appeled to the Court of Rome, before the Acte made, so that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This question was well handeled in the Parliament house, but muche better in the Convocacion house, but in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by bookes shewed, that in the Counsailes of Calcedone, Affricke, Toletane, and diverse other famous Counsayles, in the primitive Churche, yea, in the tyme of sainct Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause risyng in one Province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarke of Constantinople, should medle in causes moved in the jurisdiccion of the patriarke of Antioche, nor no bishop should entermit, within anothers province or countrey: which thinges were so clerkely opened, so connyngly set furth to all intentes, that every man that had witte, and was determined too folowe the truth, and not affeccionate nor wylfully wedded to his awn mind, might plainly se that al appeles made to Rome, were clerely voide and of none effect: whiche doctrines and counsailes, were shewed to the lady Katherine prynces Dowager, but she (as women love to lose no dignitie) ever continued in her old song, trustyng more to the Popes parcialitie, then to the determinacion of Christes veritie. Wherupon the Archebyshop of Cantorbury, accompanied with the bishoppes of London, Winchester, Bathe, Lyncolne, and diverse other great clerkes, in a great nomber roade to Dunstable, which is syx myle from Ampthil, where the Princes Dowager laye, and there by a doctor called doctor Lee, she was ascited to appere before the saied Archebyshoppe, in cause of Matrimonie, in the saied toune of Dunstable, and at the daie of apparaunce she would not appere, but made defaute, and so she was called peremptorie, every daie xv. daies to gether, and at the laste for lacke of apparaunce, and for contumacie, by thassent of all the learned men there beyng present, she was divorsed from the kyng, and their Mariage declared to bee voyde and of none effecte, whiche sentence geven, the Archebyshop and all the other, returned whether it pleased them.

The Kyng and quene Katherine, divorsed.

After whiche divorse sued, many wise menne saied, that the

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the kyng was not well counsailed, to mary the lady Anne Bulleyne, before the divorse were adjudged, for by mariyng before the firste mariage was dissolved, they said, that the second mariage might be brought in question, and verely they saied true, for so it was in the monethe of Maie, three yere folowyng, as you shall here after, when I come to the tyme. Of this divorse every man spake, as his discrecion and wisedom was; for wise men said that it was Godly and honorably done, for the discharge of the kynges conscience, and profitable for the suretie of the realme, and that God loved this mariage, considerynge that the newe Quene, was so sone with chylde. Other saied that the byshop of Rome would cursse all Englishemen, and that themperor and he would invade the realme, and destroye the people, and specially the Spanyardes bosted muche, but thankes be to God, their doinges were muche lesse then their wordes: but after every man had talked inough, there was no more communyng of the matter, but all was in peace.

Wylliam Tracy.

A litle before this tyme was there a worshipfull esquier in Glocester shyre called Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton whiche made in his wyll that he would no funerall pompe at his buriyng, neither passed he upon Masse, and farther sayd that he trusted in God onely and hopyng by hym to be saved and not by no saint. This gentleman dyed, and his sonne as executor brought the wil to the bishop of Cauntorbury to prove, which he shewed to the convocacion and there unadvisedly they adjudged hym to be taken out of the ground and to be brent as an heritike, and sent a commission to doctor Parker chauncelor of the dyoces of Worcester to execute their sentence, whiche accomplished the same. The kyng hearyng his subject to be exhumate and brent without his knowlege or order of his lawe sent for the Chauncelor and layde the high offence to hym, whiche excused him by the archebishop of Cauntorbury whiche was late dead: but in conclusion it cost hym CCC. pound to have his pardon. But yet for a farther trueth to be knowen of this gentelmans death, and the cruell ignorauncye of the bishoppes, I have here expressed his wylle worde by worde as foloweth.

In the name of God Amen, I Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton in the countie of Gloucester esquier make my Testament and last wille as hereafter foloweth. Fyrst and before all other

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other thinges I commit me unto God and to his mercy, belevyng without any doubt or mistrust that by his grace and the merites of Jesus Christ, and by the vertue of his passion and of his resurreccion I have and shal have remission of my sinnes and resurreccion of body and soule accordJob xix. ing as it is written, I beleve that my redemer lyveth, and that in the last day I shall ryse out of the yearth and in my fleshe shall see my savior, this my hope is layde up in my bosome.

And touchyng the wealth of my soule, the fayth that I have taken and rehersed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other mannes worke or workes. My ground and belefe is, that there is but one God and one mediator betwene God and man, whiche is Jesus Christ, so that I accept none in heaven nor in yerth to be mediator betwene me and God: but onely Jesus Christ, all other be but peticioners in receivyng of grace, but none hable to geve influence of grace. And therefore will I bestowe no part of my goodes for that entent that any man should say, or do, to helpe my soule, for therin I trust onely to the promises of God: he that Marke xvi. beleveth and is baptized shal be saved, and he that beleveth not shalbe damned.

As touchyng the buriyng of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done therto, for saint Augustine sayeth *de cura agenda pro mortuis* that the funerall pompes are rather the solace of them that live, then for the welth and comforte of them that are ded, and therefore I remitte it onely to the discrecion of myne executors.

And touching the distribucion of my temporall goodes, my purpose is by the grace of God to bestowe them, to be accepted as the fruites of fayth, so that I do not suppose that my merite is by good bestowyng of them but my merite is the fayth of Jesus Christ onely, by whom suche workes are Math. xxv. good accordyng to the wordes of our lorde: I was hungry and thou gavest me to eat. &c. and it foloweth, that ye have done to the least of my brethren ye have done it to me. &c. And ever we should consider the true sentence, that a good worke maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a Roma. xiiii. good worke: for fayth maketh the man both good and righteous, for a righteous man liveth by fayth: and whatsoever spryngeth not of fayth is synne.

And all my temporall goodes that I have not geven or delivered or not geven by writyng of myne own hand bearyng

bearyng the date of this present writyng, I do leave and geve to Margaret my wyfe and to Richard my sonne whom I make myne Executors. Wytnes this myne owne hand, the x. day of October in the xxii. yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII.

This is the true copy of his wille, for the whiche as you have heard before after he was almoste thre yeres dead, they toke him up and burned hym.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Clement sent an Orator to the kyng at Grenewyche certifiyng hym that he had appoynted a generall counsail to be kept at Mantua the yere folowing, and therof had advertised all princes Christen, requiryng the kyng likewyse as he did all other princes Christen for the universal welth of all Christendome and for the quietyng of opinions newly growen, to appeare there personally: to the whiche it was answered that it was both jeopardeous for the king and for his whole realme to have their prince absent for feare of invasions by utward enemies, but he sayed he would sende thither a sufficient procuracie and convenient proctors, and desired to see the Orators commission.

When he with an evyll will had shewed his commission, there appered neither place nor tyme of the counsaill. For the kyng knew well before his commyng that the Marques of Mantua had made a full denial to the pope that he would have no suche assemble to be kept in his citie nor dominions for divers great and urgent causes, and so the popes Orator departed with an uncertain answere to an uncertain demaund but not unrewarded.

The kyng beyng advertised by the Frenche kyng how that he and the Pope should mete at Nece in June folowyng, thought it convenient to sende a solempne Ambassade to the Frenche kyng both to accompany hym to Nece and also to comon with the bishop of Rome concernyng his unlawfull stay in the kynges devorce: wherupon he appointed the duke of Norffolke, the lorde Rocheforde brother to the newe quene, sir Wyllyam Pawlet comptroller of the kynges housholde, sir Anthonye Browne and sir Fraunces Bryan knightes to be his ambassadors which made great provision for that purpose and so with the nomber of Clx. horses came to Dover and so to Caleys on Whitson eve, (on whiche day the quene made her entry through the citie of London toward

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toward her coronacion) where thei made their abode a certain space and passed through all Fraunce till they came to Lyons, where they remayned a space as you shall here after.

This very season was daily skirmishyng betwene the borderers of the marches of Englande and Scotland, and yet no warre proclaimed and many robberies, murders and manslaughters done on both partes, and although the commissioners of the realmes of Englande and of Scotland lay at Newcastle upon Tyne entreatyng a truce and amitie, yet duryng the communicacion, the Scottes ceased not to robbe both by sea and land, and toke dyvers litle botes laden with corne and fishe, wherof hearyng the kyng of Englande, he decked and vitailed dyvers shippes of warre and sent them to the North seas to defende his subjectes. The Scottes hearyng that the Englishe navye was come on their cost, in al hast fled home to their harbor, but yet the Englishemen folowed them and fetched many of their praies out of their havens maugre of their heades.

In the beginnyng of May the kyng caused open Proclamacions to be made that all men that claimed to do any service or execute any office at the solempne feast of the coronacion, by the way of Tenor, graunt or prescripcion should put their graunt iii. wekes after Ester in the starre chamber before Charles duke of Suffolke for that tyme high steward of England and the lorde Chauncelor and other commissioners.

The duke of Norffolke claymed to be erle Marshall and to exercise hys office at that feast. The erle of Arrondell claymed to be high butler and to exercise the same: the erle of Oxford claymed to be chamberlain: the vicount Lysle claymed to be panter: the lord Burgainy to be chiefe larderer, and the lord Bray claimed to be almoner, and sir Henry Wiat knight claymed to be ewrer: All these noble parsonages desired theyr offices with their fees. Besyde these the Maior of London claymed to serve the quene with a cuppe of golde and a cuppe of assay of the same, and that xii. citizens should attende on the cupborde and the Maior to have the cuppe and cuppe of assay for his labor, which peticion was allowed. The v. Portes claimed to beare a Canapie over the quenes hed the daye of the Coronacion with iiii. gilte Belles and to have the same for a rewarde whiche also to them was allowed. Dyvers other put in petie claimes

claimes which wer not allowed because they semed only to be done at the kynges coronacion. Al this season great purveiaunce was made of all maner of vitailes, and lordes, knightes and squiers were sent for out of all countreys whyche came to London at their day with a great nomber of people.

The receivyng, conveiyng and coronacion of quene Anne wyfe to the high and mightie prince kyng Henry the eight.

After that the kynges highnes had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and cominaltie of the citie, signifiyng to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronacion of his moste deare and welbeloved wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the Whitsonday nexte ensuyng, willyng theim to make preparacion aswell to fetche her grace from Grenewyche to the Tower by water as to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageauntes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conveyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsaill called, and commaundement was geven to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior sir Stephen Pecocke then was) that they should prepare a barge for the Batchellers with a wafter and a foyst garnished with banners and streamers likewyse as they use to dooe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Jude. Also all other craftes were commaunded to prepare barges and to garnishe them not alonely with their banners accustomed, but also to decke theim with Targettes by the sides of the barges, and so set up all suche semely banners and bannorettes as they had in their halles or could gette mete to furnishe their sayd barges, and every barge to have mynstrelsie, accordyng to whiche commaundementes great preparacion was made for all thynges necessary for suche a noble triumph.

The commyng by water from Grenewyche the thursday.

The xix. daye of Maye the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and suche as wer knightes had collers of Esses and the remnant havyng good chaynes, and the counsail of the citie with them assembled at saint Mary Hyl, and at one of the

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the clocke discended to the Newstayre to their barge, whiche was garnished with many goodly banners and stremers, and richely covered, In whiche barge were Shalmes, Shagbushes and divers other instrumentes, whiche continually made a goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren wer in their barge seyng that all the companyes to the nomber of fiftie barges were ready to wayte upon theim: They gave commaundement to the companyes that no barge should rowe nerer to another then twyse the length of the barge upon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were three light whereys prepared, and in every one of them two officers to call on theim to kepe their order, after whiche commaundement geven they set forth in order as hereafter is discribed.

Fyrst before the Maiors barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordinaunce, in whiche Foyst was a great Dragon continually moving, and castyng wyldfyer, and round about the sayd Foyst stode terrible monsters and wylde men castyng fyer, and makyng hidious noyses: Next after the Foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors barge, on whose right hand was the Batchellers barge, in the whiche were trumpettes and dyvers other melodious instrumentes. The deckes of the sayd barge and the sailyardes and the toppe castles were hanged with riche cloth of golde and silke. At the foreship and the Sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the kyng and the quene, and on the toppe castle also was a long stremer newly beaten with the sayd armes. The sides of the barge was sette full of Flagges and banners of the devises of the company of Haberdashers and marchauntes adventurers, and the cordes were hanged with innumerable penselles havyng litle belles at the endes whiche made a goodly noyse and a goodly sight waveryng in the wynde. On the outsyde of barge were thre dosen Scochyons in metall of armes of the kyng and the quene whiche were beaten upon square bocrame devided so that the right side had the kynges colors, and the left syde the quenes, whiche Scochyons were fastened on the clothes of gold and silver hangyng on the deckes on the left hand. On the left hand of the Maior was another Foyst, in the whiche was a mount and on the same stode a white Fawcon crouned upon a rote of golde environed with white roses and red, whiche was the Quenes devise: about whiche mount satte virgyns singyng

singyng and plaiyng swetely. Next after the Maior folowed his felowship the Haberdashers. Next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so every company in his order, and last of all the Maiors and shiriffes officers every company havyng melodye in his barge by hymselfe, and goodly garnished with banners and some garnished with silke and some with Arras and riche carpettes whiche was a goodly sight to beholde, and in this order they rowed to Grenewyche to the poynt next beyond Grenewyche, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wete, the Maior and Shiriffes officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascendyng to the uttermost craftes in order and the Maior last as thei go to Poules at Christmas, and in that order they rowed douneward to Grenewiche toune and there cast anker makyng great melody. At thre of the clocke the quene appeared in riche cloth of gold and entered into her barge accompanied with divers ladies and gentlewomen, and in continent the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their minstrels continually plaiyng, and the Batchelers barge goyng on the quenes right hand whiche she tooke great pleasure to beholde. Aboute the quenes barge were many noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wylshyre her father, the Erles of Arrondel, Darby, Rutland, Worceter, Huntyngton, Sussex, Oxford, and many bishoppes and noblemen every one in his barge, which was a goodly sight to behold. She thus beyng accompanied rowed towarde the Tower, and in the meane way the shippes whiche were commaunded to lye on the shore for lettyng of the barges, shotte divers peales of gunnes, and or she landed there was a mervailous shotte out of the Tower as ever was harde there. And at her landyng there met with her the lord Chamberlain with the officers of armes and brought her to the kyng, which received her with lovyng countenaunce at the Posterne by the water syde and kyssed her, and then she turned backe againe and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes, and so entered into the Tower. After which entry the citezens all this while hoved before the Tower makyng great melody and went not alande, for none wer assigned to land but the Maior, the Recorder and two Aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stode on every shore to beholde the sight, he that sawe it not would not beleve it.

On

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On Fryday at diner served the kyng all suche as were appointed by his highnes to be knightes of the bath, which after dyner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shryven accordyng to the old usage of England, and the next day in the mornyng the kyng dubbed theim accordyng to the ceremonies thereto belongyng whose names ensueth.

The Marques Dorset.
The Erle of Darby.
The lorde Clyfforde.
The lorde Fitzwater.
The lorde Hastynges.
The lorde Mountaigle.
Sir Jhon Mordant.
The lorde Vaux.
Sir Henry Parker.
Sir Wyllyam Wynsore.
Sir Fraunces Weston.
Sir Thomas Arrondell.
Sir John Hulstone.
Sir Thomas Pownynges.
Sir Henry Savell.
Sir George Fitzwillyam.
Sir Jhon Tyndall.
Sir Thomas Jermey.

Saterday the xxxi. day.

The receivyng and conveiyng of the quene through London.

To the entent that the horses should not slide on the Pavement, nor that the people should not be hurted by horses, the high stretes wher the quene should passe were all graveled from the Tower to Temple barre and railed on the one side, within whiche rayles stode the craftes a long in their order from Grace churche where the marchauntes of the Styllyard stode till the litle conduite in Chepe where the Aldermen stode, and on the other syde of the strete stode the Constables of the citie apparelled in velvet and silke with great staves in their handes to cause the people to kepe rome and good order. And when the stretes were somewhat ordered, the Maior clothed in a goune of crimosyn Velvet and a riche collor of Esses with two footemen clad in white and red damaske roade to the Tower to geve his attendance on the Quene, on whom the Shiriffes with their officers did wayte till they came to Tower hill, where they takyng their leave roade doune the high streates commaundyng the Constables to see rome and good order kept, and so went and stode by the Aldermen in Chepe. And before the quene and her traine should come, Cornehill and Gracious streate were hanged with fyne Scarlet, Crimosyn and other grayned

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grayned clothes, and in some place with riche Arras, Tapestry and Carpettes, and the moste part of the Chepe was hanged with clothe of Tyssue, Golde, Velvet and many riche hangynges whiche made a goodly shewe, and all the wyndowes were replenished with ladyes and gentlewomen to beholde the quene and her trayne as they shuld passe by. The fyrst of the quenes company that set forward were xii. Frenchmen whiche were belongyng to the Frenche Ambassador clothed in coates of blewe velvet with sleves of yelowe and blewe velvet and their horses trapped with close trappers of blewe Sarcenet poudered with white crosses: after theim marched gentlemen, squiers knightes ii. and ii. After them the Judges, and after them the knightes of the bath in Violet gounes with hoddes purfeled with Miniver lyke doctors, after them abbottes, then Barons, after them bishoppes, then Erles and Marquesses, then the lorde Chauncelor of England, after him the archebishop of Yorke and the ambassador of Venice, after him the archebishop of Cauntorbury and the ambassador of Fraunce, after roade ii. squiers of honor with robes of estate rolled and worne baudrike wise about their neckes with cappes of estate representing the dukes of Normandy and Acquitaine: after them roade the Maior of London with his Mace, and Garter in his coate of armes, whiche Maior bare his Mase to Westminster halle, after theim rode the lorde Wylliam Haward with the Marshals rod deputie to his brother the duke of Norffolke Marshall of England whiche was ambassador then in Fraunce: and on his right hand roade Charles Duke of Suffolke for that day high Constable of England bearyng the verder of silver appertainyng to the office of Constableship, and all the lordes for the moste parte were clothed in Crimosyn velvet, and all the Quenes servauntes or officers of armes in Scarlet. Next before the quene road her chauncelor bareheded, the sergeauntes and officers of armes roade on both the sides of the lordes. Then came the quene in a litter of white cloth of golde not covered nor bayled whiche was led by ii. palferies clad in white damaske doune to the ground head and all, led by her foetemen. She had on a circot of white clothe of Tyssue and a mantle of the same furred with Ermyne, her heere hanged doune, but on her head she had a coyffe with a circlet about it ful of riche stones. Over her was borne a Ca[illegible]pie of clothe of golde with iiii. gilte staves and iiii. silver belles.

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belles. For bearyng of whiche Canapye were appointed xvi. knightes, iiii. to beare it one space on foote and other iiii. another space accordyng to their owne appointment. Next after the quene roade the lorde Borough her chamberlain, next after hym Wylliam Coffyn Master of the Horses leadyng a spare horse with a syde saddle trapped doune with clothe of tyssue: after him roade vii. ladyes in crimosyn velvet turned up with cloth of gold and of tyssue and their horses trapped with cloth of gold, after them ii. chariotes covered with red cloth of gold. In the fyrst Chariot was ii. ladyes which were the olde duches of Norfolke and the old marchiones of Dorset. In the second chariot wer iiii. ladies all in Crimosyn velvet. After theim roade vii. ladyes in the same suite their horses trappers and all, after theim came the third Chariot all white with vi. Ladyes in Crimosyn velvet, next after theim came the fowerth Chariot all redde, with viii. ladies also in crimosyn Velvet, after whom folowed xxx. gentlewomen all in velvet and silke in the livery of their ladies on whom they gave their attendaunce. After them folowed the Garde in coates of Goldsmythes worke, in whiche order they roade forth till they came to Fanchurche, where was made a pageaunt all with children apparelled like marchauntes whiche welcommed her to the Citie with two proper proposicions both in Frenche and Englishe, and from thence she roade to Gracious church corner, where was a costly and a marvailous connyng pageaunt made by the marchauntes of the Styllyarde, for there was the mount Pernasus with the fountayne of Helycon, which was of white Marble and iiii. streames without pype did rise an ell hye and mette together in a litle cuppe above the fountain, which fountain ranne aboundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountaine satte Appollo and at his fete satte Calliope, and on every syde of the mountain satte iiii. Muses plaiyng on severall swete instrumentes, and at their feete Epigrammes and Poyses were written in golden letters in the whiche every Muse accordyng to her propertie praysed the Quene: so from thence she passed to Leaden Hall where was a goodly pageaunt with a type and a heavenly roffe, and under the type was a rote of golde set on a litle mountaine environed with red roses and white, out of the type came doune a Fawcon all white and sate upon the rote, and incontinent came doune an Angell with greate melody and

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and set a close croune of golde on the Fawcons head, and in the same pageaunt satte saint Anne with all her issue beneth her, and under Mari Cleophe satte her iiii. children, of the whiche children one made a goodly Oracion to the quene of the fruitefulnes of saint Anne and of her generacion, trustyng that like fruite should come of her. Then she passed to the conduicte in Cornehill where wer thre graces set in a throne, afore whom was the spryng of grace continually rennyng wyne. Afore the fountain satte a Poete declaring the properties of every grace, and that done every lady by her selfe accordyng to her propertie gave to the quene a severall gift of grace. That done she passed by the great conduite in Chepe which was newly painted with armes of devises: out of the whiche conduit by a goodly fountain set at the one end ranne continually wyne both white and claret all that after noone, and so she rode to the Standard whiche was richely painted with ymages of kynges and quenes and hanged with banners of armes, and in the toppe was mervaylous swete armony both of song and instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse whiche was newly gilt, till she came where the Aldermen stode, and then Master Baker the Recorder came to her with lowe reverence makyng a proper and briefe proposicion and gave to her in the name of the Citie a thousand markes in golde in a Purse of golde, whiche she thankefully accepted with many goodly wordes, and so roade to the lytle conduite where was a ryche pageaunt full of melodye and song, in whiche pageaunt was Pallas, Juno and Venus, and before them stode Mercury whiche in the name of the iii. goddesses gave to her a balle of gold devided in thre, signifiyng thre giftes the which thre Goddesses gave to her, that is to saye, wysdome, ryches and felicitie. As she entred into Paules gate there was a pretie pageaunt in whiche satte thre ladyes rychely clothed, and in a circle on their head was written *Regina Anna prospere procede et regna.* The Lady in the myddes had a Tablet in the whiche was written *Veni amica coronaberis*, and under the tablet satte an angell with a close croune, and the ladye sittyng on the right hande had a Tablet of sylver in whiche was written *Domine directe gressus meos*, and the thyrd ladye had a Tablet of golde with letters Asure written, *confido in domine*, and under their feete was written, *Anna Regina nominum, Regis de sanguine natum, cum paries populis aurea*

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aurea secla tuis. And these ladyes cast doune Wafers, on the whiche the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the East ende of Paules Churcheyarde agaynst the schole, where stode on a Scaffolde two hundreth chyldren well apparelled, whiche sayd to her divers goodly verses of Poetes translated into Englishe, to the honor of the kyng and her, whiche she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newly garnished with golde and byse. And on the ledes of sainct Martyns Churche stode a goodly quere of singyng men and children whiche sang newe balades made in praise of her. After that she was passed Ludgate she proceded towarde Fletestrete where the Conduict was newely painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the chyme melodiously sownyng. Upon the Conduite was made a toune with iiii. Turettes, and in every Turret stode one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, whiche had several speches, promisyng the Quene never to leave her, but to be aydyng and comfortyng her. And in the myddes of the tower closely was suche several solempne instrumentes, that it semed to be an heavenly noyse, and was muche regarded and praysed: and besyde this the said Conduyte ranne wyne Claret and Red all the afternoone. So she with all her companye and the Maior roade forth to Temple barre, whiche was newly painted and repayred, where stode also divers singyngmen and children, til she came to Westminster halle, whiche was richely hanged with clothe of Arras and newe glased. And in the myddes of the halle she was taken out of her littre, and so led up to the high dece under the clothe of estate, on whose lefte hand was a cupborde of x. stages merveilous riche and beutifull to behold, and within a litle season was brought to the quene with a solempne service in great standyng spyce plates, a voyde of Spice and subtilties with Ipocras and other wynes, whiche she sent doune to her ladyes, and when the ladyes had dronke she gave hartie thankes to the lordes and ladyes, and to the Maior and other that had geven their attendance on her, and so withdrew her selfe with a fewe ladyes to the White halle and so to her chamber, and there shifted her, and after went into her barge secretely to the kyng to hys Manor of Westminster wher she rested that night.

Sonaay

Sonday beyng whitsonday the first day of June and the day of her coronacion.

On sonday the Maior cladde in crimosyn velvet and wyth his collor and all the Aldermen and shiriffes in Scarlet and the counsaill of the citie tooke theyr barge at the Crane by seven of the clocke and came to Westminster where thei wer welcomed and brought into the halle by Master Treasorer and other of the kynges house, and so gave theyr attendaunce till the quene should come forth. Betwene viii. and ix. she came into the halle and stoode under the clothe of estate, and then came in the kynges chapel and the monkes of Westminster all in riche copes and many bishoppes and Abbottes in copes and miters whych went into the middes of the halle, and there stoode a season. Then was there a raye clothe spred from the quenes standyng in the halle through the palace and saintuary, which was railed on bothe sydes to the high Aulter of Westminster. After that the raye clothe was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed. First went gentlemen, then esquiers, then knightes then the aldermen of the citie in their clokes of Scarlet, after them the Judges in theyr mantels of Scarlet and coyffes. Then folowed the knightes of the bathe beyng no lordes, every man havyng a white lace on his left sleve. Then folowed Barons and vicountes in theyr parliament robes of Scarlet. After them came Erles, Marquesses and Dukes in their robes of estate crimosyn velvet furred wyth Ermyne poudered accordyng to theyr degrees. After them came the lorde Chauncelor in a robe of Scarlet open before bordered wyth Lettice: after hym came the kynges chapel and the Monkes solempnely singyng wyth procession, then came abbottes and bishoppes mitered, then sergeauntes and officers of armes, then after them went the Maior of London wyth hys mace, and garter in his cote of armes, Then went the Marques Dorcet in a robe of estate whiche bare the scepter of gold, and the erle of Arrondel whiche bare the rod of Yvery with the Dove both together: Then went alone the erle of Oxforde high Chamberlain of England which bare the croune, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that day beyng high steward of England, havyng a long white rod in his hande, and the lorde Wyllyam Hawarde with the rodde of the Marshalship and

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and every knight of the Garter had on his collor of the order. Then proceded forth the quene in a circot and robe of purple Velvet furred with Ermyne in her here, coyffe, and circlet, as she had the saterday, and over her was borne the Canapye by iiii. of the v. Portes al crimosyn with pointes of blewe and red hangyng on their sleves, and the bishoppes of London and Wynchester bare up the lappes of the quenes robe. The quenes traine whiche was very long was borne by the old dutches of Norffolke: after her folowed ladies beyng lordes wyves whiche had circottes of scarlet with narow sleves, the brest all Lettice with barres of borders accordyng to their degrees. And over that they had mantels of Scarlet furred, and every mantle had lettice about the necke like a necketcher likewise poudered, so that by the pouderynges there degre was knowen. Then folowed ladies beyng knightes wyves in gounes of Scarlet with narow sleves without traines only edged with lettice, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middes of the churche betwene the quere and the high alter she was set in a riche chayre. And after that she had rested a while she discended doune to the high Alter and there prostrate her self while the archebishop of Cauntorbury sayd certaine collettes: then she rose and the bishop anoynted her on the head and on the brest, and then she was led up againe, wher after divers Oraisons sayd, the archebishop set the croune of saint Edward on her head, and then delivered her the scepter of gold in her right hand, and the rod of Ivery with the dove in the left hand, and then all the quere sang *Te deum*, &c. Which done the bishop toke of the croune of saint Edward beyng hevy and sette on the Croune made for her, and so went to Masse. And when the offertory was begon she discended doune and offred beyng crouned, and so ascended up again and sate in her chayre till *Agnus*, And then she went doune and kneled before the alter where she received of the archbishop the holy sacrament and then went up to her place againe. After that Masse was done she went to saint Edwardes shryne and there offered, after whiche offeryng done she withdrewe her into a litle place made for the nones on the one side of the quere. Now in the meane season every duches had put on their bonettes a coronall of gold wrought with flowers, and every Marquesses put on a demy Coronal

Coronal of golde, every counties a plaine circlet of gold without flowers, and every king of armes put on a croune of Coper and gilte all whiche were worne till nyght. When the quene had a litle reposed her, the company returned in the same order that they set forth, and the Quene went crouned and so did the Ladies aforesayd. Her right hand was sustayned by the erle of Wylshire her father, and her left hand by the lorde Talbot deputie for the erle of Shrewsbury and lorde Forynfall his father. And when she was out of the sanctuary and appered within the palace, the trumpettes played mervaylous freshely, and so she was brought to Westminster halle, and so to her withdrawyng chamber, duryng whiche tyme the lordes, Judges, Maior and Aldermen put of their robes, Mantels and Clokes, and toke their hoddes from their neckes and cast them about their shoulders, and the lordes satte onely in their circottes, and the Judges and Aldermen in their gounes. And all the lordes that served that day served in their circotes and their hoddes aboute their shoulders. Also divers officers of the kynges house beyng no lordes had circottes and hoddes of Scarlet edged with Myniver, as the Treasorer, Controller and Master of the Juell house, but their circottes were not gilte.

The order and sittyng at diner.

While the quene was in her chamber, every lord and other that ought to do service at coronacions did prepare them according to their duetie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England whiche was richely apparelled, his doblet and Jaket set with orient perle, his goune of crimosin velvet enbrodered, his courser trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of Crimosyn Velvet set full of letters of golde of goldsmithes worke havyng a long white rodde in his hand, on his left hand roade the lord Wylliam, deputie for his brother as erle Marshal with the Marshals rod, whose goune was Crimosyn velvet, and his horse trapper purple velvet cut on white satten enbrodered with white Lyons. The erle of Oxforde was high Chamberlaine, the erle of Essex carver, the erle of Sussex sewer, the erle of Arrondel chief butler on whom xii. citizens of London did geve their attendaunce at the cupbord. The erle of Darby Cupberer, the Vicount Lysle Panter,

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Panter, the lorde of Burgayny chiefe larder, the lorde Bray almoner for hym and his coperteners, and the Maior of Oxford kept the buttry barre, and Thomas Wiat was chiefe ewrer for sir Henry Wiat his father. When all thyng was ready, the Quene under her canapy came to the halle and washed and satte doune in the middes of the table under the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chaire stode the countesse of Oxforde wydowe, and on the left side stode the countesse of Worcester all the dyner season, which divers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the quenes face when she list to spet or do otherwyse at her pleasure. At the tables ende satte the archebishoppe of Cauntorbury on the right hande of the quene, and in the myddest betwene the archebishoppe and the countesse of Oxforde stode the erle of Oxforde with a white staffe all diner tyme, and at the quenes feete under the table satte ii. gentlewomen all dyner tyme. When all these thynges were thus ordered came in the Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Wyllyam Haward on horsebacke and the sergeauntes of armes before them, and after them the Sewer, and then the knightes of the bath bringyng in the first course whiche was xxviii. dishes beside subtilties and shippes made of waxe mervailous gorgious to beholde, al which tyme of service the trumpettes standing in the wyndow at the netherende of the halle played melodiously. When her grace was served of two dishes, then the archebishoppes service was set doune, whose Sewer came equal with the thirde dishe of the quenes service on his left hand. After that the quene and the archebishop was served, the Barons of the portes began the table on the right hand next the wall, next theim at the table sat the masters and clerkes of the chauncery, and beneth them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the walle on the left hande by the cupborde was begon by the Maior and Aldermen the chamberlain and the counsayll of the citie of London, and beneth them satte substancial marchauntes, and so douneward other worshipfull persones. At the table on the right hand in the middes of the halle sat the lorde Chauncelor and other temporall lordes on the right side of the table, in their circottes: And on the lefte side of the same table, sat Bishoppes and Abbottes in their Parliament robes, beneth them sat the Judges, Serjantes, and the kynges counsaill, beneth

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beneth them the knightes of the Bathe. At the table on the left hande, in the middle part, sat Ducheses, Marqueses, Countesses, Baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circottes, and gentle women in gounes. Al whiche ladies and gentle women, sat on the left side of the table a long, and none on the right side: and when all were thus set, they were incontinent served and so quickely, that it was mervaill, for the servitors gave such good attendance, that meate or drynke ne any thyng els, neded not to be called for, whiche in so greate a multitude was marvaill. As touchyng the fare ther could be devised, no more costlier dishes nor subtilties. The Maior of London was served with xxxiii. dishes at twoo courses, and so wer all his brethren, and suche as sat at his table. The Quene had at her seconde course xxiiii. dishes, and thirtie at the thirde course: and betwene the twoo last courses, the kynges of Armes cried Larges, in three partes of the hal: and after stode in their place, which was in the bekins at the kynges Benche. And on the right hande, out of the Cloyster of S. Stephens, was made a litle Closet, in whiche the kyng with diverse Ambassadors, stoode to behold the service. The Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Willyam, rode often tymes aboute the hall, chering the lordes, ladies, and the Maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had Wafers and Ypocras, and then thei washed, and were commaunded to rise, and to stande stil in their places, before the table or on the fourmes till the Quene had washed: when she had taken Wafers and Ypocrase, the table was taken up, and the Erle of Rutlande brought up the surnap, and laied it at the bordes ende, which immediatly was drawen, and cast by Master Rode, Marshal of the hall: And the Quene washed, and after the Archebishop, and after the Surnap was drawen of, she arose and stode in the middes of the Hall place: to whom the Erle of Sussex in a goodly spice plate, brought a voyde of spice and comfettes. After hym the Maior of London brought a standyng cuppe of golde, set in a cup of assaie of gold, and after that she had dronke, she gave the Maior the Cuppe with the Cuppe of assaie, because there was no leyar, accordyng to the clayme of the citee, thankyng hym and all his brethren, of their pain. Then she under her Canapie, departed to her Chamber, and at the entry of her Chamber, she gave the

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the Canapy with Belles and all, to the Barons of the Portes, accordyng to their clayme, with greate thankes. Then the Maior of London bearyng his Cuppe in his hande, with his brethren, went through the hal to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke.

On Mondaye were the Justes at the Tilte, before the Kynges gate, where the Maior and his brethren had a goodly standyng : but there wer very fewe speres broken, by reason the horses would not cope.

On Wednesdaye, the Kyng sent for the Maior and his brethren to Westminster, and there he hymself gave to theim hartie thankes, with many goodly wordes.

On Midsomer daie after, the lady Mary the Frenche Quene died in Suffolke, at the lordship of who was the late wyfe to Lewes the XII. and after maried to Charles duke of Suffolk, and was buried at .

This season the kyng kepte his progresse aboute London, because of the Quene.

The Christenyng of the lady Elizabeth.

The vii. day of September beyng Sondaie, betwene thre and foure of the Clocke at after noone, the Quene was delivered of a faire Lady, whiche daie the Duke of Suffolke came home to the christenyng, and for the Quenes good deliveraunce, *Te deum* was song in continently, and great preparacion was made for the christenyng : and the Maior and his brethren, and xl. of the chief of the citezens, were commaunded to bee at the Christenyng, the Wednesdaie folowyng, upon whiche daie the Maior, sir Stephen Pecocke, in a goune of Crimosin Velvet, with his coller of *s.s.* and all the Aldermen in Scarlet, with collers and cheines, and all the counsaill of the citee with theim, tooke their barge after diner, at one of the clocke, and the citezens had another barge, and so rowed to Grenewiche, where were many lordes, knightes and gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwene the Kynges place and the Friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the waye strawed with grene Rushes : the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The Fount was of silver, and stoode in the middes of the Churche, three steppes high, whiche was covered with a fine clothe, and diverse gentlemen with aperns, and towelles about their neckes, gave attendaunce aboute it, that no filth should come in the Fount, over it hong a square Canape of crimosin Satten, fringed

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fringed with golde, aboute it was a rayle covered with redde saye: betwene the quier and the body of the Churche, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the child redy in: when al these thynges wer ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then every man set forward: Firste the citezens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquiers and chapeleins, next after theim the Aldermen, and the Maior alone: nexte the Maior, the kynges counsaill, the kynges Chapel in copes: then Barons, Bishoppes, Erles, then came the Erle of Essex, bearyng the covered basins gilte, after hym the Marques of Excester with the taper of virgin ware, next hym the Marques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behynd hym the lady Mary of Norffolk, bearyng the creson whiche was very riche of perle and stone, the old Duches of Norffolke bare the childe, in a Mantell of purple velvet, with a long train furred with Ermine. The duke of Norffolke, with his Marshall rod went on the right hand of the saied duches, and the duke of Suffolke on the left hande, and before theim went the officers of armes: the countes of Kent bare the long train of the childes mantell, and betwene the Countes of Kent and the child, went therle of Wilshire on the right hand, and therle of Darby on the left hand, supportyng the said train: in the middes over the said child was borne a Canapy, by the lorde Rocheford, the lorde Husey, the lorde Willyam Haward, and by the lorde Thomas Haward the elder, after the child folowed many ladies, and gentlewomen, when the child was come to the churche dore, the bishop of London met it with diverse bishoppes and Abbottes mitred, and began the observaunces of the Sacrament. The Godfather was the lorde Archebishop of Cantorbury: the Godmothers were the old Duches of Norffolke, and the olde Marchiones of Dorset widowes, and the childe was named Elizabeth: and after that al thyng was done, at the churche dore the child was brought to the Fount, and christened, and this doen, Garter chief kyng of armes cried a loude, God of his infinite goodnes, sende prosperous lyfe and long, to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth: and then the trumpettes blewe, then the childe was brought up to the aultar, and the Gospell saied over it: and after that immediatly the Archebishop of Cantorbury confirmed it, the Marchiones of Excester beyng Godmother, then the Archebishop of Cantorbury, gave to the Princes a standyng cup

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cup of gold: the Duches of Norffolke, gave to her a standyng cuppe of golde, fretted with pearle: the Marchiones of Dorset gave thre gilt boulles, pounced with a cover: and the Marchiones of Excester, gave thre standing bolles graven, all gilt with a cover. Then was brought in Wafers, Comfettes, and Ypocras in suche plentie, that every man had asmuche, as he would desire. Then they set forwardes, the trumpettes goyng before in the same ordre, towarde the kynges place, as they did when they came thether warde, savyng that the giftes that the Godfather, and the Godmothers gave, wer borne before the child by foure persones, that is to saye: First sir Jhon Dudley, bare the gift of the Lady of Excester: the lorde Thomas Haward the younger, bare the gift of the lady of Dorset: the lorde Fitzwater, bare the gift of the Lady of Norffolk, and the Erle of Worcester, bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and all the one side as thei went, was full of staffe Torches, to the nomber of five hundred, borne by the garde and other of the kynges servauntes, and about the child were borne, many other proper torches borne by gentlemen: and in this ordre thei brought the princes, to the Quenes chamber, and the Maior and the Aldermen taried there a while, and at the last the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, came out from the Kyng, thankyng them hartely, and said the kyng commaunded them, to geve them thankes in his name: and from thence thei wer had to the seller to drynke, and so went to their Barges.

Pauyer.

This yere also one Pauier toune clerke of the citee of London, hanged himself, which surely was a man, that in no wise could abide to here that the Gospell should bee in Englishe, and I my selfe heard hym once saie to me and other that wer by, swearyng a great othe, that if he thought the kynges highnes, would set furth the scripture in Englishe, and let it be red of the people by his aucthoritie, rather then he would so long live he would cut his awn throte, but he brake promes, for as you have hard he hanged hymself: but of what mynde and intent he so did, God judge. About this season was espied a newe founde Saincte, and holy Hypocrite called the maide of Kent, whiche by the greate labor, diligence, and pain takyng of tharchebishop of Cantorbury, and the lorde Cromewell, and one called Hugh Latimer a prieste (whiche shortly after was made Bishop of Worcester) the

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The holy Mayde of Kent.

the jugglyng and craftie deceipt of this maide, was manifested and brought to light: wherupon after diverse examinacions, she with al her adherentes, wer in November brought to the starre chamber: the names of them all shall folowe, firste Elizabeth Barton, whiche was she that called her self the holy maide of Kent, Richard Master priest person of Aldyngton in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyng doctor in Divinitie, Monke of Canturbury, Richarde Deryng Monke also of Cantorbury, Edward Twhaytes gentleman, Thomas Laurence register to tharchedeacon of Cantorbury, Henry Gold person of Aldermary bachiler of Divinitie, Hugh Riche Frier Observaunt, and Richard Risby, Thomas Gold gentleman. These all beyng in the starre chamber before diverse of the kynges counsaill, confessed their feined hipocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, and treiterous purposes and intentes, and then was there by the kynges counsaill adjudged, to stand at Paules crosse, wher thei with their awne handes, should severally deliver eche of them to the preacher that should bee appoynted, a bill declaryng their subtile, craftie and supersticious doynges. Whiche thyng the nexte Sondaie after, they al above rehersed, standyng on a stage at Paules Crosse, made for that purpose did accomplishe: but for their treasons committed, the matter therof was respited to the Parliament nexte folowyng, where al thei abovesaid, with other as after ye shall here, wer attainted by act of parliament, and suffered death as traitors, by hanging, drawyng, and quarteryng at Tyborne.

In September the kyng of Scottes, sent his Commissioners to the toune of Newe Castle, where wer for the kyng of Englande commissioners, sir Thomas Clifford, and doctor Magnus, and sir Raufe Elderkare. And first the Scottes without any long communicacion, demaunded greate amendes, saiyng, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled theim to their losse, and that greatly, and saied that the kyng of England of his honor, must nedes make satisfaccion, yf he would be called honorable. Then it was answered, that notwithstandyng the leagues, written, sealed and sworne, the Scottishe nacion would never kepe peace in somuch, while we be here in treatyng, your people are robbyng: wherfore the kyng demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherof we here deliver

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deliver you a writing, which the Scottes received, and at their next metyng thei saied, that the shippes to them wer lawfull prises, by reason that therle of Anguishe, was maintened in Englande, whiche is rebel to our kyng, and therle and you have doen to us muche skathe, and we have taken a few shippes, in recompence of some part of our greate losses, which we maie not deliver, and therfore we praie you demaunde theim not: but here wee deliver you our boke, whiche amounteth to a greater somme by tenne thousande marke. The Englishe commissioners received the boke, and in the same the Scottes demaunded recompence for burning their tounes, and destroiyng many of their strong Piles, above xxiiii. whiche were destroyed from the xxiiii. daie of Aprill, in the laste xxiiii. yere of the kyng, to the xxx. daie of Aprill. The Englishe commissioners answered, that if the Scottes would send to the kyng of Englande, thei doubted not, but thei should have a good answer for the kyng of Englande bad hym chose peace or warre: so they agreed to sende to bothe their kynges letters of their doynges, whiche in haste was dooen. And after muche suite of the Scottes parte, when they had muche demaunded, and litle or nothyng was graunted, thei then beyng wery of warre desired peace, whiche was concluded, duryng bothe the kynges lives, and the twentie daie of Maie, in the next yere of the kyng folowyng, it was openly Proclaimed, to the greate comforte and rejoysyng of all lovers of peace.

The xviii. daie of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the kyng and his counsaill, to Bugden beside Huntyngdon, where the lady Katheryne Princes Dowager laye. For the Kyng was advertised, and had good proves of the same, that she of froward mynde would consent, neither to the determinacion of the Universities, nor yet to the sentence of the whole convocacion of the realme, but beyng counsailed by a fewe Spaniardes, whiche had litle lernyng, did all that she could to infringe the determinacion of the said Universities and clergie. In somuche that she wrote to the Pope, and to other potentates, to greve the Kyng and his realme, because he would not folowe her mynd, and breake the commaundement of God. Wherefore the Kynges counsayll mocioned the kyng, that suche as wer about her, and moved her thereto, should be put from her, for

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for thei thought it no reason, that she should have suche libertie to woorke that thyng, by the whiche the kyng and his realme, might have detriment or damage. Wherefore the saied Duke was sent to her, whiche shewed to her openly, Articles of her suites to the Pope, and howe she soughte meanes to greve the Kyng and his Realme, whiche hereafter she should not bee suffered to dooe. For the same tyme was a Cursse sent from the Pope, whiche accurssed bothe the Kyng, and the whole Realme, whiche Cursse the bearer thereof, beeyng not by like the hardiest manne that ever shewed hymself in front of battaill, thought it a greate deale more better for hym to bestowe it without the Kynges reche, then to adventure to come within his Dominions, and therefore set it up in the Toune of Dunkercke in Flaunders where it was taken doune by Wyllyam Locke, Mercer of London. The Quene answered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high woordes, and sodainly in a fury she departed from hym, into her privie Chamber and shutte the doore. He seeyng that, brake all the ordre of the Quenes Courte, and discharged a great sorte of her housholde servauntes, and yet lefte there a convenient nomber, to serve her like a Princes. There was greate lamentacion emong theim that departed, but there was no remedy. Then thei that remaigned to serve her, were sworne to serve her as a Princes Dowager, and not as Quene, some said thei were sworne to her as Quene, and otherwise thei would not serve, and so they departed. Other that wer sworne to serve her as Princes, and remained there, she them utterly refused for her servauntes, wherfore she remained with the lesse nomber of servauntes.

The Pope accursed the Kyng and Realme.

Willyam Lock Mercer.

The kyng kept his Christmas at Grenewiche, with greate solempnitee, and after Christmas beganne the Parliament. In whiche Parliament Elizabeth Barton, the holy Maide of Kent, with all her adherentes of whom ye have heard before, was attaynted. And because her offences, wer bothe against God and the kyng, so greate and wicked, that the like was never heard nor knowen before, I wyll declare unto you the processe of her matter, in suche maner as the truthe thereof, is declared in her attainder, by Acte of Parliament. Firste the sayed Elizabeth Barton (beeyng a Nonne professed in the house and Priory of Sainct Sepulcres in Cauntorbury) whiche long before she was professed Nonne, dwelled with one

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one Thomas Cobbe, in the Parishe of Aldyngton, in the Countie of Kent, and happened to bee visited with sickenes, and by occasion thereof, brought in suche debilitie and weakenes of her brayne, because she could not eate ne drynke, by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmitie, she semed to bee in Traunses, and spake and uttered many foolishe and Idle woordes. And one Richarde Master, Clerke, beeyng Persone of the saied Parishe of Aldyngton, in the sayed Countie of Kent, after that he had made to the late Archebishoppe of Cauntorbury, a farre and a larger reporte, concernyng the Hypocrisy, traunses and speaches of the sayed Elizabeth, then he could justifie and abide by, and after that he was commaunded by the saied Archebishop, to geve good attendaunce upon her, if she should fortune to have any mo suche traunses and speaches, and to sende hym knowlege thereof, to the intent to mainteigne, uphold and verefy, suche reporte as he had made, aswell to the Archebishoppe aforesaied, as to other, of the wounderfull traunses and speaches of the saied Nonne, he falsely and craftely informed the said Elizabeth, that the merveilous wordes whiche she spake in her traunses, afore his ridyng to the Archebishop aforsaied, proceded of the inspiracion of the holy ghost, and that she was greatly to be blamed if she would hide or dissemble the wonderful workes of God shewed to her: for a fore this his saied informacion and instruccion, she saied constantly, that she could not remember, that she spake any suche notable wordes in her traunses, as were reported unto her, by the saied Richard Master. Whiche Elizabeth beeyng in this maner of wise, often tymes perswaded, procured and informed, by the saied Persone of Aldyngton, tooke boldenes and courage to forge, feigne, and counterfeat suche maner of Traunses, and craftie speaches, as the saied Persone of Aldyngton told her, that she used in her sickenes, afore he went to the said Archbishoppe. And when the saied Elizabeth had used, this false, feigned counterfeating for a ceason, and was perfecte therein (so that the fame thereof, was greatly spred abroade, in those parties) then the saied Person, to the intent aforsaid, and to the intent the people, should geve more faithe and credite unto her, and because he would have increased the devocion of the people, in commyng on pilgrimage to a Chapell, set in Courte at Strete, within the saied Parishe, dedicate in the honour

honour of our Lady, for his awne lucre and avauntage, imagined, devised, compassed, and declared, with the aide, helpe, and counsayll of one Edwarde Bockyng Monke, professed in the Monastery in Christes Churche in Cauntorbury, and Doctor in Divinitiee, that the saied Elizabeth, being in the extasy and extremitie of her sickenes, in a maner distract in traunses, should saie emongest other wounderfull woordes, that she should never take healthe of her body, till suche tyme as she had visited the Image of our Lady, beeyng in the saied Chapell at Courte at Strete afore saied: and that our Lady had appered unto her, and shewed her, that yf she came to the saied Chapell, at the daie appoynted, she should bee restored to her health by Miracle, where in very deede, she was restored to her perfecte health, by diet and Phisike, and by the course of nature, whiche expelled the matter, beyng cause of her sickenes, in the meane tyme while the said person of Aldyngton, was with the Archebishoppe, as is afore rehersed. And albeit the saied Elizabeth, was restored to her healthe, yet she beeyng accustomed and acquainted, with the maner and fashion, of her distracte Traunses, by the counsayell, conspiracie, and confederacie of the sayed Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, dyd falsely practise, use and shewe unto the people, diverse and merveilous sondery alteracions, of her sensible partes of her body, craftely utteryng in her saied feigned and false Traunses, diverse and many verteous and holy woordes, tendyng to the rebuke of synne, and in reprovyng of suche newe opinions, as then beganne to spryng in this Realme, whiche she called Heresyes, as she was induced and taught, by the saied Edwarde Bockyng and Richarde Master, usyng all the waies of false Hypocrisy, to the intent the people should geve belefe and credence unto her, whereby they might bee the soner brought, into the detestable crymes of blasphemie and Idolatrie, agaynste almightie GOD. And the saied Edwarde Bockyng, beeyng maliciously fixed in his opinion, agaynste the Kynges highnes, in his detested Matrimonie with Quene Katheryne, and intendyng in his mynde, afterwardes for his parte, falsely and Trayterously to use the sayed Elizabeth, as a Diabolicke instrument, to stirre, move, and provoke the people of this Realme, aswell nobles as other, to murmoure and grudge, agaynste the Majestie of oure Sovereigne Lorde, and all his juste and Lawfull

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Lawfull procedynges, in the saied Devorse and seperacion, as after he did in very deede: for the accomplishyng of his saied false, malicious and Trayterous intentes, falsely devised and conspired, with the saied Richarde, that the saied Elizabeth should shewe and manifest her self, to the people, to bee an excellent verteous and an holy woman, and that all her woordes and deedes, should appere to the worlde, to procede of a marveilous holines, rebukyng the common synnes and vices of the worlde, as though she were taught and inspired, of the holy spirite of God. And not onely moved and counsailed the saied Elizabeth, thus to use her self, surmittyng to her that she spake suche thynges, in the extasy of her sickenes, that came by the inspiracion of God, but also counsayled and procured the saied Elizabeth, to bee brought and conveighed, to the saied Chapell of oure Lady, and therein openly in the presence of the people, (that there should be assembled by their procurementes) should use and experiment suche like Traunses, and alteracions of her face, and other the outward sensible partes of her body, as she used in the extremitie and extasy of her sickenes. To whose counsailes and advertisementes, the saied Elizabeth agreed. Whereupon at a daie by them appoynted and agreed, the saied Edward and Richard, laboured, solicited, and procured, above the nomber of twoo thousande persones, to repaire to the saied Chapel, surmittyng that the saied Elizabeth, whiche as they saied, had marveilous and many Visions and Revelacions of God should bee broughte thether, and there receive her healthe, by Miracle of oure Lady, whose Image was in the saied Chapell. By reason of whiche false, feigned and detestable conspiracy and Hypocrisy, at the daie by theim appoynted, there assembled to the saied Chapell, above the nomber of twoo thousande people. At whiche daie also, the saied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master procured, and caused the saied Elizabeth, to repaire to the saied Chapell, where the saied Elizabeth, albeit she at that tyme, and long afore was restored to healthe of her bodie, and discharged of her tormentes and affliccions, whiche she had in the extasy of her sickenes: Yet nevertheles by the procurement and craftie counsaill of the saied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richard Master, did falsely feigne and shewe unto the people in the same Chapell, many alteracions of her face, and

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and other outward sensible partes of her body, and falsely feigned and shewed her self in Traunces, utteryng wonderous woordes, as she was before subtelly and craftely induced and taught, by the sayed Richarde and Edwarde to dooe. And emongest other thynges she uttered, that it was the pleasure of God, that the saied Edwarde Bockyng, should bee her ghostly father, and that she should bee a religious woman, as she was taught by the saied Edward Bockyng, and Richard Master. And within a while after demonstracion, of suche false feigned and dissimuled traunces, she appered to the people, to bee sodainly releved from her sickenes and afflic-cions, by the intercession and meanes of the Image of oure Lady, beyng in the same Chapell. By meanes of whiche false feigned Hypocrysy, dissimuled and cloked Sanctitee, so conspired and craftely imagined by the saied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, the saied Elizabeth was brought into a merveilous fame, credite and good opinion, of a greate multitude of the people of this Realme. And to increase the fame of the said false feigned Hypocrisy, the said Elizabeth after wardes, by the counsaill and procure-ment, of the saied Edwarde Bockyng entered into Religion, and became a Nonne, professed in the saied Priory of Sainct Sepulchers, to whom the saied Edwarde Bockyng, had com-monly his resorte, not without probable, vehement, and violent suspicion of incontinencye, pretendyng to bee her Ghostly father, by Goddes appoyntement. And by con-spiracy betwene her and him, caused her still to persist and abide, in the practisyng of her said false hipocrisy, and dissimulyng traunces and raptes. And that she should surmit to the people, that when she was in suche simuled alteracion, of her sensible partes of her body, that she was then rapt by almightie God, from thaffeccions of this worlde, and tolde by the holy spirite of God, many thynges that should folowe to the worlde, for punishement of the synnes of the princes and the people. And that she should also say that she was muche provoked and tempted, aswel to the synne of the fleshe as otherwise, by her ghostly enemye the devill, at diverse and sondry tymes, and in diverse and sondery waies and fashions. And yet never theles that she by the grace of almightie God was preserved, and stedfastly resisted suche temptacion. By occasion of which counsaill and procurement, of the said Edward Bockyng, the said Elizabeth

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Elizabeth by continuaunce of tyme, toke suche a courage upon her, that she falsely feined and saied, that she had many revelacions, of almightie God and his holy sainctes, with hevenly sightes, hevenly voyces, hevenly melodies and joyes, and specially in a chapell of S. Giles, in the said Nonnery to the whiche chapell she often tymes resorted, to receive visions and revelacions, as commaunded by God, as she falsely reported, and specially by night, saiyng, that the Dorture doore was made open to her by Goddes power, utteryng the same, aswell to the saied Edward Bockyng, as to diverse other persones. By the whiche her false feined revelacions, and cloked hipocrisy, she was reputed emongest many people of this realme, to be a very holy woman, inspired with God, where in very deede, she never had vision or revelacion from God, as she hath plainly and openly, confessed her self. And therefore her stealyng furthe of the Dorture in the nighte, whiche was not once or twise wekely, was not for spirituall busines, nor to receive revelacions of God, but rather for bodely communicacion and pleasure with her frendes, which could not have so good leasure and oportunite with her by day. And for ratificacion of her false feined revelacions, the said Edward by conspiracy, betwene him and the said Elizabeth, reveled the same to the most reverend father, Willyam late Archebishop of Cantorbury, who by false and untrue surmises, tales and lies of the said Edward and Elizabeth, was allured, brought and induced to credite theim, and made no deligent serches, for the triall of their saied falsehodes, and confederacions, but suffered and admitted the same, to the blasphemie of almightie god, and to the great deceit of the prince, and people of this realme. And for a perpetuall memory of the said feined and dissimuled hipocrisy, and false revelacions of the saied Elizabeth, the saied Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, and one Jhon Deryng, a Monke in the said Monastery of Christes churche a forsayed, made, writ and caused to be writen, sondery bokes bothe greate and small, bothe printed and written, concernyng the perticularities of the saied false and feined hipocrisy, and revelacions of the said Elizabeth, or the defence or great praise of the same: surmittyng and puttyng furth the same false and feined practises, and revelacions of the said Elizabeth, to be just and true miracles, shewed by almightie God, in the favor of the

the sanctitee of the said Elizabeth, where in dede thei been and wer falsely devised, compassed, conspired, writen and mainteined by the said Elizabeth Barton, Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, and Jhon Deryng, to thonly intent to bryng the said Elizabeth, in the fame and credite of the people of this realme, wherby the people should the more bee apt and disposed, by her false cloked hipocrisy and sanctitee, to commit the crimes of blasphemy, and ydolatrie agaynst God, and also the soner induced, by the false revelacions of the saied Elizabeth to murmor, and grudge, and be of evill opinion, agaynst the Majestie of our sovereigne lorde to the great peril and daunger of his moste royal person. And one Edward Thwaites gentleman, translated and wrote diverse quaiers, and shetes of paper, concernyng the sayd false feined revelacions, of the saied Elizabeth. Also one Thomas Laurence of Cantorbury, beyng regester to tharchebishop of Cantorbury, at thinstance and desire of the said Edward Bockyng, wrote a greate boke of the saied false and feined miracles, and revelacions of the said Elizabeth in a faire hand, redy to bee a copie to the printer, when the saied boke should be put to stampe.

Emonges whiche false and feined revelacions, surmised by the sayed Elizabeth, and put in writynges in diverse bokes, by the false conspiracie meanes and procurement of the saied Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, Jhon Deryng, and other their complices, there is expressed that the devill should appere, to the saied Elizabeth in diverse fashions, sometymes like a man wantonly appareiled, sometyme like a birde deformed, and sometyme otherwise. And that Mary Magdalene, should often apere to the saied Elizabeth, and revele to her many revelacions. And at one tyme should deliver unto her, a letter written in heven, part wherof was limmed with golden letters, where in deede the same letters were written with the hande of a Monke of sainct Augustines in Cantorbury named Hawkhurst.

There was also written and conteined, emongest the said false and feined miracles and revelacions, that when the kinges highnes was at Calice in thentervewe, betwene his majestie and the Frenche kyng, and heryng Masse in the Churche of our Lady at Calice, that God was so displeased with the kynges highnes, that his grace sawe not at the Masse the blessed Sacrament in fourme of bread: for it was

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was taken awaie from the priest (beyng at Masse) by an Angell, and ministered unto the said Elizabeth, then beyng there present and invisible, and sodainly conveighed and rapt thence again, by the power of God into the saied Nonnery, where she is professed, with many other false feined fables and tales devised, conspired and defended by the said Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng and Jhon Deryng, written as miracles in the said bokes for a memorial, to set furth the false and feined hypocrisy, and cloked sanctitee of the said Elizabeth, to the people of this realme, as by the sayed sondery bokes and wrytinges therof made, seen and examined by the kynges moste honorable counsaill more plainly apereth: in which bokes be written such termes and sentences of reproch and slaunder, agaynst the kynges highnes and the quene, which wer to shameful to be written against the most vile and ungracious persons livyng, whiche to here, would abhorre every true subject of this realme.

And after the said Elizabeth by suche her false and feined hipocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, was brought in a great brute and fame of the people, in sondry parties of this realme, then the said Edward Bockyng by procurement and secret conspiracy, of diverse persones unknowen, whiche maligned agaynst the kynges procedynges, for the seperacion and devorse in the saied detested and unlawfull mariage, traiterously intendyng to put the kynges highnes in a murmor, and evil opinion of his people, for the same, counsailed and stirred the said Elizabeth, that she should aske a peticion of almightie God, to knowe whether God was displeased with the kynges highnes for procedyng in the said devorce and seperacion of the mariage betwene his highnes, and the said lady Katherin, declaryng to her many tymes, that he and diverse other learned men of this realme, and many of the common people of the same, were in firme opinions that the kynges procedyng in the saied devorce, was agaynst the lawes of God. Wherupon the said Elizabeth subtelly and craftely, concerning the opinion and mynd of the saied Edward, willyng to please hym, reveled and shewed unto the saied Edward, that she had knowlege by revelacion from God, that God was highly displeased with our sovereigne lorde, for the same matter. And in case he desisted not from his procedinges, in the said devorse and seperacion, but pursued the same and maried agayn, that then

then within one moneth of suche mariage, he should no lenger be kyng of this realme: and in the reputacion of almightie God, should not be a kyng one daie, nor one houre: and that he should dye a villeines death: saiyng farther, that there was a roote with iii. braunches, and til they wer plucked up, it should never be mery in England: interpreting the roote to be the late lord Cardinal, and the first braunche to be the kyng our sovereigne lorde, the second the duke of Norffolke, and the iii. the duke of Suffolk. Whiche false feined revelacions, by the mischevous and malicious counsaill and conspiracie of the said Edward Bocking, with the said Elizabeth, wer written and expressed, in the saied bokes and volumes, conteignyng the false and feined revelacions and Miracles, of the sayed Elizabeth, for a perpetuall memory thereof, to the utter reproche and perell of destruccion of the Kynges persone, his honor, fame and name: and prively and secretly, set furthe by the saied Elizabeth Edward Bockyng, Jhon Deryng, and Richarde Master generally to diverse and many of the kynges subjectes, and specially as to electe persones, to Jhon Bishoppe of Rochester, and Jhon Adeson clerke, chapelain to the saied bishop, and to one Henry Gold priest, bacheler of Divinitee, to Hugh Riche Frier Observaunt, and late Wardein of the Friers Observauntes of Cantorbury, whiche beare malice and malignitie, to all the kynges procedynges, in the saied devorse and seperacion, because it was contrary to their perverse and froward opinions, entendyng by colour of the sayed false and feined hypocrisy, and revelacions of the saied Elizabeth, not onely to let the saied devorse and seperacion, but also to bring and set furth secretly, in the heddes of the people in this realme, aswel nobles as other, that al the kynges actes and procedyngs in the same, were agaynst holy scriptures, and the pleasure of almightie God: wherby the kynges highnes should be brought in a grudge, and evill opinion of his people. And the saied Jhon Bishoppe of Rochester, Henry Gold, Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, Richard Master, Jhon Deryng, at sondery and severall tymes and places, spake with the said Elizabeth, and toke relacion of her, of the saied false and feined revelacions, whiche she feined that she had of almightie God, aswell concernyng the kynges highnes as other, after the fourme and termes above specified. And havyng knowledge

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ledge therof, the saied Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, and Henry Golde clercke, gave suche firme and constant credite thereunto, that thei Trayterously conceled it from the kynges highnes, and trayterously beleved in their hartes, that the Kyng our sovereigne Lorde, after the late mariage solempnized, betwene his highnes, and his moste dere and entierly beloved wife Quene Anne, was no lenger rightfull kyng of this realme, in the reputacion of almightie God, whereby in their hartes and willes, thei trayterously withdrewe from his highnes, their naturall dueties of obedience: and secretly taught and moved other persones (to whom thei reveled the said false and feined revelacions) that thei ought and might lawfully doo in the same wise: and practised the saied matters, against the kynges Majestie, falsely, maliciously, and traiterously, at sondery places and tymes, with the fathers, and Nonnes of Syon, and diverse Monkes of the Charter house of London and Shene, and with diverse Freers Observauntes, the places of Richemont, Grenewiche, and Cauntorbury, and to diverse other, bothe spirituall and temporall persones in greate nomber, to the intent to sowe a secret murmor and grudge, in the hartes of the Kynges subjectes, against the Majestie of our sovereigne lorde, and all his procedynges, in the saied divorse and seperacion, intendyng therby to make suche a division and rebelling in this realme, emongest the kynges subjectes, whereby the kynges highnes, should not onely have been put to peril of his life, but al so in jeoperdy to be deprived from his croune and dignitie royall.

And for a more playne and particuler declaracion of the malicious and trayterous intentes of the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Jhon Deryng, Hugh Ryche, Rychard Rysby, and Henry Golde, thei concluded by a confederacy among them selfes eche with other, to set forth in sermons and prechinges the sayd revelacions to the people of thys realme against the kinges Majestie, whensoever it should please the said Elizabeth to appoint them the tyme when they should so do, and agreed ech with other secretely, and set forth the sayde false and fayned revelacions to their acquaintaunce and frendes in this realme, intendinge to make a great multitude of people of this realme, by their secret conspiracies in an aptnes to receyve and take such their sermons and preachinges which they entended to make, as is aforsayd,

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aforsayd, concerninge the premisses, trayterously intending therby to put our sayd soveraigne lord, not only in peril of hys life, but also in jeopardye of losse and deprivacion of hys croune and dignitie royal of this realme, from him and his lawfull succession for ever. And in accomplishyng their false, trayterous and malicious intentes against our sayd soveraygne lorde, they caused the said Elizabeth, at ii. tymes, secretly to declare the said false and fayned revelacions to ii. of the Popes Orators and ambassadors at the cities of Cauntorbury and London. At which tyme the sayde Henry Golde toke upon hym to be interpretor therof, betwene the said Elyzabeth, and the said Orators named Anthony Pulleon: and the interpretor to the other Orator named Sylvester, was the forsayd Lawrence of Cauntorbury, to thentent the kynges highnes, and al his procedinges in the said devorce and separacion should be brought into an evill opinion wyth the Pope and other princes and Potentates. And the sayd Hugh Rych actually travayled to sondry places of this realme, and made secrete relacion of the premisses concernynge the kinges hyghnes to divers lordes bothe spiritual and temporal, and divers other persones lay and learned, seculer and relygyous. And the said Henry Gold over this, actually travayled and made relacion therof to the sayd lady Katherin princes dowager, to animate her to make commocion in this realme againste our sayd soveraygne lorde, surmitting that the sayd Elizabeth shuld have by revelacion of God, that the sayd lady Katherin should prospere and do wel, and that her issue the lady Mary the kynges doughter should prosper and reygne in this realme and have many frendes to sustaine and maintayne her. And the sayd Elizabeth and Edward Bockynge, Jhon Deryng and Richard Maister likewise actually travailed to divers places in this realme and made secrete relacion of the sayd false fayned hipocrisie and revelacions of the sayd Elizabeth and gave knowlege hereof to dyvers other sondry persones of this realme.

The kynge first named supreme hed.

Al whiche conspiracies and confederacies of the sayde Elizabeth, and other her complices above mencioned, was traiterously and maliciously devysed and practised by the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Jhon Deryng, Richard Maister, Henry Golde, Hugh Rych, and Rycharde Rysby to the entent trayterously to destroy our sayd soveraigne lord,

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lord, and to deprive him and his lawfull succession from the croune and dignitie royall of this realme, which matter had bene practysed and imagined amongest them for the space of many yeres: wherof the whole circumstaunce were very long to be wrytten in this acte. And the sayde Jhon Fysher bishop of Rochester and one Thomas Gold gentleman, and the sayd Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaytes, and Jhon Adson chapelein to the sayd Jhon bishop of Rochester, havyng knowledge of the false fayned and dissimuled revelacions, traiterously conspired against our sayd soveraygne lorde (as is aforsayd) did neverthelesse make concelement therof, and uttered not the same to our sayd sovereygne lord nor any his honorable counsayl, agaynste their duties and allegeaunce in that behalfe.

And furthermore, the sayd Thomas Gold, for the accomplishement of hys most trayterous intent, hath of late bene a messenger from the saide Elizabeth, sithen she was inwarde the Tower of London for the sayde most false and trayterous offences by her and her said complyces committed and done, he then beyng at libertie, by hys message hathe comforted diverse others to stande styfly by her revelacyons, that thei wer of God: notwithstanding that she had confessed al her said falshed before divers of the kynges counsaylors, and that they were manifestly proved, found, and tryed moste false and untrue: which thing he dyd onlye to raise and put sedicion and murmur in the people agaynst the kinges highnes, his croune and dignitie royal. And one Thomas Abel clerke beyng of the confederacy aforesayd, and taking such firme and constant credite to the sayd false and fained revelacions and miracles of the sayd Nonne, not onely caused to be Printed and set forth in this realme divers bookes agaynst the sayd devorce and separacyon to the disslaunder of our sayd soveraygne lord, but also animated the sayd lady Katherine obstinately to persist in her wilful opinion against the same devorce and separacion: and after the sayd devorce lawfully had, to usurpe and take upon her styll to be Quene, and procured diverse writinges to be made by her, by the name of Quene: and also procured and abetted the servauntes of the sayd Lady Katheryne against the kynges expresse commaundement and proclamacion, to name, call, accept and repute the said lady Katherine for quene of this realme to the entent to make a common division and rebellion in

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in this realme to the great peryl and daunger of our sayd sovereigne lorde.

Thus much have I recited unto you out of the acte as it is there expressed worde for worde: now after foloweth the maner of her attainder and of the other as in the acte more at large doth appere. But to conclude the xxi. day of Aprill next folowyng she wyth other wer drawen to Tiborne and there executed as most justly they had deserved as you may perceyve by the premisses.

The wordes of Elizabeth Barton otherwise called the holye mayde of Kente at her death.

And at the place of execucion, and the present tyme that she suffered she sayd these wordes, 'Hether am I come to 'dye, and I have not been the onely cause of myne owne 'death whiche moste justly I have deserved, but also I am 'the cause of the death of all these persones whiche at this 'time here suffre: and yet to say the trueth, I am not somuche 'to be blamed consideryng it was well knowen unto these 'lerned men that I was a poore wenche without learnyng and 'therefore thei might have easely perceived that the thinges 'that were done by me could not procede in no such sorte, 'but their capacities and learnynge coulde right well judge 'from whence they proceded, and that they wer altogether 'fayned: but because the thynges which I fayned was pro-'ffitable unto them, therfore they muche praised me and bare 'me in hande that it was the holy ghost and not I that dyd 'theim, and then I beyng puft up with their praises fell 'into a certain pryde and folishe phantasie with my selfe 'and thought I might fayne what I would, which thing 'hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I 'cry God and the kynges highnes most heartely mercy, and 'desire all you good people to pray to God to have mercy 'on me and on all them that here suffre with me.'

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suertie of the croune, to the whiche every persone beyng of lawfull age should be sworne upon the payne expressed in that acte, as in the same ye may moste evidently see.

Monday the xxiii. day of Marche in the Parliament time, were solempnely received into London as ambassadors from James the v. king of Scottes, the bishop of Aberdyne, the Abbot of Kynlos and Adam Otterborne the kynges Atturney, with divers gentlemen on them attendant whiche were brought to the Taylers hal and there lodged. And

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And on the day of the Annunciacion of our Lady they were brought to the kynges place at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the kyng appointed them dayes to counsaill. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall heare.

Duryng the Parliament tyme, every sonday preached at Paules crosse a bishop, whiche declared the Pope not to be the head of the Churche.

The xxx. day of Marche the Parliament was proroged, and there every lorde and burges and all other, were sworne to the acte of succession, and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to the same othe. This Parliament was proroged till the third day of November next. After this, commissions were sent over all England to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at whiche fewe repyned, except doctor Jhon Fysher, sir Thomas Moore knight late lorde Chauncelor, and doctor Nicholas Wylson parson of sainct Thomas Apostles in London: wherfore these thre persones, after long exhortacion to them made by the bishop of Cauntorbury at Lambeth, and expresse denyall of them to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where thei remayned and were oftentymes mocioned to be sworne: but the Bishoppe and sir Thomas More sayd that thei had in their writynges written the princes dowager Quene, and therfore they might not go against that, and the doctor sayd that he in preachyng called her quene, which he would not withsay, howbeit at length he was very wel contented, and dissembled the matter and so escaped: But the other twayne stode against all the realme in their opinion.

Wolfes wife.

In this yere it chaunced that two marchaunt straungers fell in love with a harlot whiche was called Wolfes wyfe, and this harlot had often haunted the straungers chambers. And so one tyme the same harlot appoynted these straungers to come to Westminster, and she had prepared for them a bote, in the whiche bote was but one manne to rowe whyche was a strong thefe, and in the ende of the boate laye Wolfe her husband covered with a lether that botemen use to cover their Cusshyns with, and so these straungers satte them doune mistrustyng nothyng, and when this boteman had brought theim as farre as a place that is called the Turnyng tree, sodainly stepped up the sayd Wolfe and wyth his dagger thrust the one of theim thorow, the other cryed out

to

to save hys lyfe and offred a great somme of money to the boteman and him to save his lyfe, but no proferres woulde be heard, nor mercy woulde they extende, but as crull murderers without pitie slewe the other also and bound theim face to face and so threw them into the Thames in the foresayed place, where they were longe after before they were found. But immediatly the harlot Wolfes wyfe went to the straungers chambers and toke from thence so muche as she coulde come by. And at the laste she and her husbande as they deserved, were apprehended, arraigned and hanged at the foresayed turnynge tree, where she hanged still and was not cut doune, untyll suche tyme as it was knowen that beastly and filthy wretches had moste shamefully abused her beynge dead.

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The Lorde Dacres of the North.

THE nynth day of July was the lord Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of high treason, wher the duke of Norffolke sat as judge and high Steward of England. The sayd lorde Dacres beyng brought to the barre with the axe of the Tower before him: after his inditement red, not only improved the sayd inditement as false and maliciously devised against hym and answered every part and matter therin contained, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusors whiche there were ready to avouche their accusacions, that to their great shames, and to his great honor, he was found that day by his peres not giltie, which undoubtedly the commons excedyngly joyed and rejoysed of, in so muche as there was in the hall at those woordes, not giltie, the greatest shoute and crye of joy that the like no man livyng may remembre that ever he heard.

Jhon Frith.

The xiiii. day of July one Jhon Frith beyng very well learned and had an excellent goodly witte, was brought out of the Tower wher he had been long, and was there imprisoned for makynge of a booke agaynst Purgatory: but in the meane whyle that he was there, he was required by one who heartely loved him and had a very good opinion in him, to declare to him his faith and opinion in the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, and that he would put

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put the same in writyng, whiche thyng he dyd. But after it chaunced that the same persone which had this writynge of Jhon Frith was acquainted with a Taylor in London called Wyllyam Holt, whiche outwardely professed muche honestye, but inwardly was a verye spye and a very betrayer of as many menne as he might bring in daungier. This Holt required after he had seen it, to have this writing, and he had it, and forth with he presented it to sir Thomas More then lorde Chauncelor, and he immediatly made answere to the same in writyng, which also by the meanes of the sayd Holt, came to the handes of Jhon Frith. Jhon Frith then perceivyng that the thing that he was so loth to write or meddle in (for it was a matter that none could get him to talke of, savyng suche that he as much trusted as hym selfe) was nowe so farrespred abroade that it was answered unto, after he had not a litle rebuked the negligence and folye of his frende whom he trusted, stoode to the defence of his first treatise, and made a farther declaracion of his mynde upon the same matter as appereth in a booke whiche beareth his name. For the which opinion with other he was after divers and sondry examinacions (aswell at Lambeth with the Bishop of Cauntorbury as also at Croydon, and likewyse with the bishoppe of Wynchester) brought unto the Consistory in Paules Churche in London before divers bishoppes, where after muche disputyng, for that he would not yelde nor submit himselfe to theim, they condempned him and delivered hym to the seculer power to be brent as an heretike.

At the same time was one Andrew Hewet a very simple and utterly unlerned yong man a Taylor, which was also betrayed by the foresayd Holt: This yonge man beyng in lyke maner accused in the Consistory before the sayd bishoppes for holding opinion agaynst the Sacrament. One of the bishoppes asked him how he beleved in the Sacrament? he answered, he beleved therin as Master Frith did: why sayd they, doest thou not beleve that it is the very body of Christ really fleshe and bloud even as he was borne of the virgyn Mary? No sayed he, why so sayed the Byshop? because sayd he, that Christe byd me that I should not beleve them that say here is Christ and there is Christe, for false Christes and false prophetes shall arise to deceive you sayth Christ. Then certayn of the byshoppes smyled, and Doctor Stokesley then Byshop of London sayd: Frith is an heretike

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heretike and is condempned and delivered to the temporal power to be brent, yf thou wilt not submit thy selfe and acknowlege thyne errour, thou shalt likewyse be condempned and delivered. I am content sayd he. Wilt thou not abjure thyne heresie quoth the bishop? No sayd he, for I wyll do as Mayster Frith doth. Then we will condempne thee sayd the Bysshop: do so sayd he. And so they pronounced sentence on him, and delivered hym to the Shiriffes: and from thence they were sent to Newgate where they remayned tyll the xxii. day of July, and that daye were both brent at one stake in Smythfelde. Where at the same tyme one doctor Cooke which was person of Hony Lane, and one that was the Master of the Temple, willed the people to pray no more for them then they would pray for dogges, at whiche uncharitable wordes Frith smyled and prayed God to forgeve them, and the people sore grudged at them for so saiynge.

The xiiii. day of August was a great fyer at Temple barre and divers houses brent. And the xvi. daye of the same moneth was burned the kynges stable at Charyng crosse otherwyse called the Mowse, wherin was brent many great Horses and great store of haye.

In this yere the third day of November the kinges highnes helde his high court of Parliament, in the whiche was concluded and made many and sondry good, wholsome, and godly statutes: but among al one, special estatute, which aucthorised the kynges highnes to be supreme head of the Churche of England, by the which the Pope with all his College of Cardinalles with all their Pardons and Indulgences was utterly abholished out of this realme, God be everlastyngly praysed therefore. In this Parliament also was geven to the kynges highnes the fyrste frutes and tenthes of all dignities and spirituall promocions. And in the ende of the same Parliament the kynges Majestie mooste graciouslye graunted (and wylled it by the same Parliament to be established) hys moste gracious and generall free pardon.

The Pope abholished.

Thys yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce: whiche Admyrall was honorably received, and at hys departyng was lyberally rewarded.

In this tyme dyed the Erle of Kyldare prisoner in the Tower. And even at the same tyme Thomas Fitzgarard his sonne began to rebell against the kynge and tooke all the kynges Ordinaunce, and sent Ambassadors to the Emperor

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Emperor to have intreated him to take part with him. Also he slewe the byshop of Develyn and brent and robbed all suche as would not obeye hym: But at the last he was apprehended and had as he deserved as after shall appeare.

THE XXVII. YERE.

IN the beginnynge of this yere the Duke of Norffolke and the Byshop of Ely went to Caleys, and thether came the Admyral of Fraunce. And the xix. day of June was thre Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, and quartred at Tyborne and their quarters set up about London for deniyng the kyng to be supreme head of the Churche. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemore, and Nudigate. These men when they were arreigned at Westminster, behaved them selfes very stifly and stubbornly, for hearyng their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken against the kynges Majestie his croune and dignitye, they neyther blushed nor bashed at it, but very folishly and hipocritically knowleged their treason whiche maliciously they avouched, havynge no lernyng for their defence, but rather beyng asked dyvers questions, they used a malicious silence, thinkyng as by their examinacions after warde in the Tower of London it dyd appeare, for so they sayed, that they thought those men whiche was the Lorde Crumwell and other that there satte upon them in judgement to be heretiques and not of the Churche of God, and therfore not worthy to be either aunswered or spoken unto. And therfore as they deserved, they received as you have heard before.

Jhon Fisher bishop of Rochester.

Also the xxii. day of the same moneth Jhon Fysher bishop of Rochester was beheaded, and his head set upon London bridge. This bishop was of very many menne lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learnyng, and a man of very good life, but therin wonderfully deceived, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, and very maliciously refused the kynges title of supreme head. It was sayd that the Pope, for that he helde so manfully with him and stoode so stifly in his cause, did elect him a Cardinal, and sent the Cardinalles hat as farre as Caleys, but the head it should have stande on, was as

as high as London bridge or ever the hat could come to Bishop Fysher, and then it was to late, and therfore he neither ware it nor enjoyed his office. This man as I sayd was accoumpted learned, yea, and that very notably learned, and yet have you heard howe he was deceived with Elizabeth Barton that called herself the holy mayd of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the defence of that usurped authoritie, the more pitie: wonderful it is that a man beyng lerned should be so blind in the scriptures of God that proveth the supreme aucthoritie of princes so manyfestly. Also the vi. day of Julye was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like treason before rehersed, which as you have heard was for the deniyng of the kynges Majesties supremitie. This manne was also coumpted learned, and as you have heard before he was lorde Chauncelor of England, and in that tyme a great persecutor of suche as detested the supremacy of the byshop of Rome, whiche he himselfe so highly favored that he stoode to it till he was brought to the Skaffolde on the Tower hyll where on a blocke his head was striken from his shoulders and had no more harme. I cannot tell whether I shoulde call him a foolishe wyseman, or a wise foolishman, for undoubtedly he beside his learnyng, had a great witte, but it was so myngled with tauntyng and mockyng, that it semed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministred some mocke in the communicacion, insomuche as at his commyng to the Tower, one of the officers demaunded his upper garment for his fee, meanyng his goune, and he answered, he should have it, and tooke him his cappe, saiyng it was the uppermoste garment that he had. Lykewise, even goyng to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called unto him and besought him to declare that he had certaine evidences of hers in the tyme that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreate she might have them agayn, or els she was undone. He answered, good woman have pacience a litle while, for the kyng is good unto me that even within thys halfe houre he wyll discharge me of all busynesses, and helpe thee hymselfe. Also when he went up the stayer on the Skaffold, he desired one of the Shiriffes officers to geve him his hand to helpe him up, and sayed, when I come doune againe, let me shift for my selfe aswell as I can. Also the hangman kneled doune

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sir Thomas Moore, behedded.

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doune to him askynge him forgevenes of his death (as the maner is) to whom he sayed I forgeve thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honestie of the strykyng of my head, my necke is so short. Also even when he should lay doune his head on the block, he havyng a great gray beard, striked out his beard and sayd to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the block least ye should cut it, thus wyth a mocke he ended hys lyfe.

This yere in the tyme that the kyng went his progresse, which was to Gloucester and so Westward, the kyng of Scottes was installed at Wynsore by the lorde Erskyn his Procurator. And in October folowyng Stephyn Gardiner bishop of Winchester was sent Ambassador into Fraunce where he remained thre yeres after.

In November was a solempne procession through the citie of London of all the priestes and religious in and about the citie for the recoveryng of the French kyng to his health. And the viii. day of January folowyng dyed the princes dowager at Kymbalton and was buried at Peterborough. Quene Anne ware yelowe for the mournyng.

Quene Anne brought a bed before her tyme.

And in February folowyng was quene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her tyme, which was borne dead.

Wyllyam Tyndall.

This yere in the moneth of September Wyllyam Tyndale otherwyse called Hichyns was by the crueltie of the clergie of Louayn condempned and burned in a toune besyde Bruxelles in Brabande called Vylford. This man translated the New testament into Englishe and fyrst put it in Prynt, and likewise he translated the v. bookes of Moyses, Josua, Judicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges and the bookes of Paralipomenon, Nehemias or the fyrst of Eldras, the Prophet Jonas, and nomore of the holy scripture. He made also divers treatises, which of many were well lyked and highly praysed, and of many utterly dispised and abhorred, and especially of the moste parte of the bishoppes of this realme, who often by their great labours caused Proclamacions to be made against his bookes, and gatte them condempned and brent, aswell the Newe testament as other woorkes of his doynges. Suche as best knewe him reported him to be a very sobre man, borne upon the borders of Wales, and brought up in the Universitie of Oxforde, and in lyfe and conversacion unreprovable: and

at

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at the laste beynge in Oxford Luther then settyng foorth certaine woorkes against the Byshop of Rome, Tyndale occasioned by theim to searche the scriptures whether Luther sayd the truth or no, did therby not onely himselfe attaine the knowledge of the usurped aucthoritie of the bishop of Rome and hys supersticious and dampnable doctrynes that he had taught and published through all Christendome, but also lamentynge the ignoraunt state that his native countrey of England was in, who altogether wer wrapped in errours thought it hys dutie, for that God hadde reveled the light of his Gospell to him, to bestowe hys talent to the honour of God and proffite of hys countrey, and thought no waye so good to reduce the people from their errour as fyrste to make theim acquaynted with Goddes woorde, that they myght knowe what Goddes will was that we should do, and what the bishoppe of Rome sayed that we muste do: and therefore fyrste as is aforesayed: he translated into Englishe the Newe Testament, a woorke no doubt very notable and to hym verye paynefull, for that he was forced to flye his owne natyve countrey, and to lyve in a straunge lande amonge people that as well varyed from his maners, ás the persones to hym were unknowen. Amongest whom after greate paynes by hym taken, and manye and dyvers treatises by hym published, he was at Antwarpe this yere by one Philippes an Englisheman and then a scholar at Louayn, betrayed and taken, and as many sayed, not without the helpe and procurement of some byshoppes of this realme: but true it is, that after he had been in prison more then a yere and almost forgotten, he was labored for by letters written by the lorde Çromwell, and then in all hast because he would recant no part of his doynges, was burned as you have heard before. But yet this report dyd the Procurator generall there (which we call here the Livetenaunt) make of hym, that he was, *Homo doctus, pius et bonus*, that is to say, learned, godly, and good.

The fowerth day of February the kyng held his high court of Parliament at Westminster, in the whiche was many good and wholsome statutes and lawes made and concluded. And in this tyme was geven unto the kyng by the consent of the great and fatte abbottes, all religious houses that were of the value of CCC. marke and under, in hope that

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that their great Monasteries should have continued still: But even at that tyme one sayd in the Parliament house that these were as thornes, but the great abbottes were putrified olde Okes and they must nedes folowe, and so will other do in Christendome quoth doctor Stokesley bishop of London or many yeres be passed.

THE XXVIII. YERE.

ON Maye daye were a solempne Justes kept at Grenewyche, and sodaynlye from the Justes the kyng departed havyng not above vi. persons with him, and came in the evenyng from Grenewyche to his place at Westminster. Of this sodayn departynge many men mused, but moste chiefely the quene, who the next day was apprehended and brought from Grenewyche to the Tower of London, where after she was arreigned of high treason, and condempned. Also at the same tyme was likewyse apprehended, the lorde Rocheforde brother to the sayd Quene, and Henry Norrys, Marke Smeton, Wyllyam a Bruton and sir Fraunces Weston, all of the kynges privy chamber. All these were lykewise commytted to the Tower and after arreigned and condempned of high treason. And al the gentlemen were beheaded on the Skaffolde at the Tower hyll: But the Quene was with a sworde beheaded within the Tower. And these folowyng were the woordes that she spake the day of her death whyche was the xix. day of May, 1536.

Quene Anne sent to the tower.

The wordes of quene Anne Bolleyn at her death.

Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe, and by the lawe I am judged to dye, and therefore I wyll speake nothynge agaynst it. I am come hether to accuse no man, nor to speake any thyng of that, whereof I am accused and condempned to dye, but I pray God save the king and send him long to reygne over you, for a gentler nor a more mercifull prince was there never: and to me he was ever a good, a gentle and soveraygne lorde. And yf anye persone wyll medle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leve of the worlde and of you all, and I hertely desyre you all to praye for me. O Lorde have mercy on me, to God I commende my soule. And then she kneled doune saying:

saying: To Christ I commende my soule, Jesu receive my soule divers tymes, till that her head was stryken of wyth the sworde. And on the Assencion daye folowyng, the kynge ware whyte for mournynge.

The weke before Whytsontyde the kyng maried lady Jane doughter to the ryght worshipfull sir Jhon Seymer knyght, which at Whitsontyde was openly shewed as Quene.

The viii. day of June the kyng held his high courte of Parliament in the whiche Parliament the kynges two first mariages, that is to say with the lady Katheryne, and wyth the lady Anne Bulleyn were both adjudged unlawfull, as more at large appeareth in the acte in the booke of statutes.

In the Parliamente ceason lorde Thomas Hawarde withoute the kynges assent affyed the ladye Margarete Douglas doughter to the quene of Scottes and nere to the kyng: for whych presumpteous acte he was attainted of treason, and an acte made for lyke offendors, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as a prysoner.

In the time of this Parliament, the bishoppes and all the clergie of the realme helde a solempne convocacion at Paules churche in London where after much disputacion and debating of matters they publyshed a booke of religion intitled, Articles devysed by the kyngs highnes etc. In thys booke is specyally mencyoned but thre Sacramentes, wyth the whiche the Lyncolneshyremen (I meane their ignoraunt priestes) wer offended, and of that occasion depraved the kynges doynges. And this was the first beginninge, as after ye shall playnly heare.

After this boke which passed by the kinges aucthoritie wyth the consent of the Clergie, was published, the which contayned certaine articles of religion necessary to be taught unto the people, and amonge other it specially treated of no more then thre Sacramentes, wher alwayes the people had bene taught vii. Sacramentes, and besyde this boke, certaine Injunccions were that tyme geven wherby a nomber of their holy daies was abrogated and specially such as fel in the harvest tyme, the kepynge of whych was muche to the hynderaunce of the gatherynge in of corne, haye, fruyte, and other such lyke necessary and profitable commodities.

These artycles thus ordayned and to the people delivered. The inhabitauntes of the North partes being at that time very

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The insurreccion in Lyncolneshyre.

very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant, but altogether noseled in supersticion and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbottes and ignorant priestes not a litle stirred and provoked for the suppression of certaine Monasteries, and for the extirpacion and abolyshynge of the bishoppe of Rome, nowe takynge an occasion at this booke, saiynge see frendes nowe is taken from us foure of the vii. Sacramentes and shortly ye shall lese the other thre also, and thus the fayth of holye churche shall utterly bee suppressed and abolyshed: and therefore sodaynly they spred abroade and raysed great and shamefull slaunders only to move the people to sedicion and rebellion, and to kyndle in the people hatefull and malicious myndes agaynste the kynges Majestie and the Magestrates of the realme, saiynge let us fully bend our selves to the mayntenaunce of religion, and rather then to suffre it thus to decaye even to dye in the felde. And amongest theim also were to many even of the nobilitie that did not a lytle provoke and stirre up the ignoraunt and rude people the more stifly to rebell and stand therin, faythfully promysynge theim both ayde and succoure agaynst the kynge and their owne native countrey (lyke foolyshe and wycked menne) thynkyng by their so doing to have done God hygh pleasure and service. There were also certaine other malycyous and busye persones who added Oyle (as the Adage sayeth) to the Fornace: These made open clamours in every place wher oportunitie served, that Christian religion should be utterly violate, disspysed and set a syde, and that rather then so, it behoved and was the partes of everye true Christen manne to defende it even to the death, and not to admyt and suffre by anye meanes the fayth (in the whyche their forefathers so longe and so manye thousande yeres have lyved and contynewed) nowe to bee subverted and destroyed. Amonge these were many priestes whyche deceyved also the people wyth manye false fables and venemous lyes and imaginacions (whych coulde never entre nor take place in the harte of anye good man, nor faythfull subjecte) saiyng that al maner of prayer and fastyng and al Goddes servyce shuld utterly be destroyed and taken away, that no man should mary a wyfe or be partaker of the Sacramentes, or at length shoulde eate a piece of rost meate, but he should for the same first pay unto the kyng a certayne somme of money, and that they

they shoulde be brought in more bondage and in a more wycked maner of life, then the Sarasyns be under the great Turk. With these and such other like errours and slaunderous tales, the people thus instructed (or as I maye trulier speake) deceyved and mocked beyng to lyght of credite, incontinent to the helpe and maintenaunce of religion once establyshed and confirmed, they stifly and stoutly dyd conspire and agre: and in a parte of Lyncolneshire, fyrst thei assembled and shortly after, joyned into an Army, beynge (as it was supposed) of men apte and feete for the warre, in nombre aboute twentie thousand.

Against these trayterous rebelles, with all the haste and spede that might be (after he harde therof) the kynges royal majestie, in his awne proper persone, furnished with a goodly and warlike Armie, lackynge nothyng that to suche a company shoulde appertein, marched towarde them. But these rebelles hearyng that his majestie was present wyth his power and armie royall, feared what woulde folow of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before favored them began to withdrawe them selves, so that thei wer destitute of Capitaines: and at the last thei in writyng made certayn peticions to the kynges majestie, professynge that they never entended hurte toward hys royall persone. The kynges majestie received there peticions, and made answere unto them as foloweth.

The kynges answer to the rebelles.

First we begyn and make answere to the foure and sixe articles, because upon theim dependeth muche of the rest. Concernyng chosynge of counsaylors, I never have red, hard, nor knowne, that princes counsailors and prelates, should be appoynted by rude and ignoraunt common people, nor that thei wer persones mete, nor of habilitie to discerne and chose mete and sufficient counsailors for a prince: how presumpteous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the moste brute and beastly of the whole realme, and of the least experience, to fynd faute with your Prince for the electyng of his counsaylours and prelates, and to take upon you contrarie to goddes lawe and mannes lawe to rule youre prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes to obey and serve wyth both youre lyves, landes and goodes, and for no worldly cause to withstand? the contrarie wherof you like traytors and rebelles have attempted and not lyke true subjectes as ye name youre selfes.

As

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As to the suppression of religious houses and monastaries, we wolle that ye and all oure subjectes should well knowe that this is graunted us by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this oure Realme, and by all the commons in the same by acte of Parliament, and not set furth by any counsailor or counsaylors upon there mere will and fantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade oure realme to beleve.

And where ye allege that the service of god is much diminished, the trouth therof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where god was well served, but where most vice, mischief and abhominacion of livyng was used, and that doth wel apere by there awne confessions subcribed with ther awne handes in the tyme of their visitacions, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we neded by the acte) to stand wherin yf thei amend not ther livyng, we feare, we have more to answer for then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the relief of the pore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that thei have bene a great reliefe of poore people, whan a great many or the most parte hath not past foure or five religious persons in them, and divers but one which spent the substaunce of the goodes of ther houses in norishyng of vyce and abhominable living. Now what unkindnes and unnaturalitie may we impute to you and al oure subjectes that be of that mynde, that had lever suche an unthryftye sorte of vycyous persones, shoulde enjoy such possessions, profytes and emolumentes, as growe of the sayd houses, to the mayntenaunce of their unthriftie life, then we youre naturall prince, Sovereygne lorde and kyng, whych doeth and hath spent more in your defences of our awne, then six tymes they bee woorth? As towchynge the acte of uses, we marvaile what madnes is in your brayne, or upon what ground ye would take aucthoritie upon you to cause us to breake those lawes and statutes, whyche by al the noble knightes and gentlemen of thys realme (whome the same chiefly toucheth) hath bene graunted and assented to: seynge in no maner of thyngs it toucheth you the basse commons of our realme.

Also the groundes of all those uses were false, and never admytted by lawe, but usurped upon the prince, contrary to all equitie and justice, as it hath bene openly both dysputed and

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and declared by al the well learned men in the realme of Englande in Westminster hall: whereby ye maye well perceive, how mad and unreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and how unmete it is for us and dishonorable, to graunt or assent unto, and lesse mete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demaunde the same of your prynce.

As touching the systene which ye demaund of us to be released, think ye that we be so fayntharted, that perforce ye of one shire (wer ye a greate many mo) coulde compel us wyth your insurreccions and such rebellious demeanour to remit the same? or thynke ye that anye man wyll or may take you to be true subjectes, that first make and shew a lovynge graunt and then perforce would compel your sovereigne lorde and kyng to release the same? the time of payment whereof is not yet come, yea and seing the same wyll not countrevayl the tenth peny of the charges, whyche we do and dayly susteine for youre tuicion and safegarde: make you sure, by your occasions of these your ingratitudes, unnaturalnes and unkindnes to us now administred, ye geve us cause whiche hathe alwayes ben asmuche dedicate to your wealth as ever was kyng, not so much to set or studie for the setting forward of the same, seing how unkyndly and untruly, ye deale now wyth us, wythout any cause or occasyon: and doubt ye not, though you have no grace nor naturalnes in you to consyder your dutie of allegiaunce to your kyng, and sovereigne lorde, the rest of our Realme we doubt not hath: and we and they shall so loke on this cause, that we trust it shalbe to your confusion, yf accordyng to youre former letters you submit not your selfes.

As touching the first frutes, we let you wit, it is a thyng graunted us by act of parliament also, for the supportacion of parte of the great and excessive charges, which we supporte and beare for the mayntenaunce of youre wealthes and other oure subjectes: and we have knowen also that ye our commons have much complained in tymes passed, that the moste parte of our gooddes, landes and possessions, of the realme, were in the spiritual mennes handes: and yet bearyng us in hand that ye be as lovyng subjectes to us as may be, ye cannot fynd in your hartes that your prince and soveraigne lorde shoulde have any parte thereof (and yet it is

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is nothing prejudiciall unto your our commons) but to rebel and unlawfully ryse agaynst your prynce, contrary to the duety of allegeaunce and Goddes commaundement, Sirs, remembre youre folies and treiterous demeanours, and shame not your native countrey of England nor offende no more so grevously your undoubted kynge and naturall prince, whiche alwayes hath shewed him self most loving unto you, and remembre your dutie of allegiance, and that ye are bounde to obey us youre kynge, both by Goddes commaundement and lawe of nature.

Wherfore we charge you eftsones upon the forsayd bondes and paines, that ye wythdraw your selfes to your owne houses, every man, and no more to assemble contrarye to oure lawes, and your allegeaunces, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischiefe, to be delyvered to oure lyftenauntes handes, or oures, and you your selves to submit you to suche condigne punishment as we and oure nobles shall thynke you worthy: for doubt you not els that we and our nobles can nor will suffre this injurie at youre handes unrevenged, yf ye geve not place to us of sovereigntie, and shewe youre selfes as bounden and obedyent subjectes, and no more to entermeddle your selfes from hencefurth wyth the weightie affaires of the realme, the direccion whereof only apperteigneth to us your kyng and such noble men and counsailors, as we lyst to elect and chose to have the orderyng of the same: and thus we praye unto almighty god, to geve you grace to do your duties, to use your selfes towardes us lyke trew and faythfull subjectes, so as we may have cause to ordre you therafter, and rather obediently to consent amongest you to deliver into the handes of our livetenaunt a hundreth persons, to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our wil' and pleasure, then by your obstinacy and wylfulnes, to put your selfes, your wyves, children landes, goodes and cattalles, besyde the indignacion of god, in the utter adventure of total destruccion, and utter ruyne, by force and vyolence of the swerd.

After the Lyncolneshire men had received this the kynges answer aforsayd, made to their peticions, eche mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medeler, even very sodenly thei began to shrink and out of hand they were all devided, and every man at home in hys awne house in peace: but the capitaines of these rebelles eskaped not al clere,

clere, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserved: he that toke upon him as capitain of this rowte, named hymselfe capitaine Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with divers other which afterward were taken and executed. THE XXVIII. YERE [1536-37]

Al these thinges thus ended, the contrey appeased, and all thinges in quiet, the kynges majestie retired, and brake up his army.

A new insurreccyon.

But se, even within six daies folowyng, was the king truly certefied that ther was a new insurreccion made by the Northren men, whyche had assembled themselfes into a houge and great army of warlikemen and wel appoincted both with capitaynes, horse, harneys and artillary to the nombre of fourtie thousande men, whiche had encamped themselfes in Yorkeshire: And these men had ech of theim to other bound them selfes by their othe to be faythfull and obedient to his capitayne: they also declared by their proclamacions solemply made, that this their insurreccion, should extend no farther but only to the maintenaunce and defence of the fayth of Christe and deliveraunce of holy churche sore decaied and oppressed, and also for the furtheraunce aswel of private as publick matters in the realme touchyng the wealth of al the kyngs pore subjectes. They named this there sedicious and traiterous voiage, an holye and blessed Pilgrymage: they had also certaine banners in the felde, wherupon was painted Christ hangynge on the Crosse on the one syde, and a chalice with a painted kake in it on the other syde with diverse other banners of like hipocresie and fained sanctitie: the souldiers also had a certain cognisaunce or badge, embroudered or set upon the sleves of their coates, which was the similitude of the fyve woundes of Christ, and in the middest therof was wrytten the name of our lorde, and this the rebellious Guarryson of Satan with hys false and counterfeated signes of holynes set forth and decked themselfes, only to delude and deceyve the symple and ignorant people.

After that the kinges highnes was credibly certefied of this new insurged insurreccion, he makyng no delay in so weightie a matter, caused with al spede the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Excetter, the Erle of Shrewsbury wyth other, accompanyed wyth his mighty and royal army, which was of great power and strength, forthwith to set upon the rebelles: but when these

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these noble capitaynes and counsaylors approched, the rebelles and perceived their nombre and saw how they wer bent to battayl, they practysed wyth great pollecie to have pacefyed al with out bloudshedyng, but the Northrenmen wer so stifnecked that thei wold in nowise stoupe, but stoutlye stode and mayntayned their wycked entrepryse, wherfore the nobles above sayd perceivyng and seynge none other way to pacefye these wretched rebelles, agreed upon a battayl, the battail was appoincted, and the day was assigned: but, se the same night which was the night before the day of the battail appointed, fel a smal rain nothing to speake of: but yet as it wer by a great myracle of god, the water which was but a very smal forde, and that men in maner the day before might have gone dryshod over, sodenly roase of such a heigth, depnes and bredth that the lyke noman that ther did inhabit could tel that ever thei sawe it so a fore, so that the day, even when the houre of battayll should come it was impossible for the one armie to come at the other.

A true myracle of God.

After this appoyntment made betwene both the armies (disapointed as it is to be thought only by God, who extended his great mercie and had compassion on the great nomber of innocent persones, that in that deadly slaughter had lyke to have bene murdered) could take no place: Then by the great wysedom and pollecy of the sayd capitaynes, a communicacion was had, and a pardon of the kynges Majestie obteyned, for all the capitaynes and chief doers of this insurreccion, and thei promysed that such thynges as they founde themselves agreved wythall they shoulde gently be heard, and there reasonable peticions graunted and that their articles should be presented to the kinges Majestie, that by hys hyghnes aucthoritie, and wysedome of his counsayl, al thinges should be brought to good ordre and conclusion: and with this ordre every man quietly departed, and those which before wer bent as hote as fyre to fyght, beyng letted therof by God, went now peaseably to their houses, and were as colde as water. *A domino factum est istud.*

In thys tyme of insurreccion, and in the rage of horley borley, even when the kynges armie and the rebelles were ready to joyne, the kinges banner beyng displayd, and the kynges majestie then liyng at Winsore, ther was a boocher dwellyng

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dwellyng wythin fyve mile of Wynsore which caused a priest to preach that al such which toke part with the Yorkshiremen whom he named Goddes people, did fyght and defend Goddes quarel and farther the sayd bocher in sellyng of his meat, one dyd byd hym a lesse price of a shepe then he made of it, he answered nay by Gods soul, I had rather the good felowes of the north had it amonge them and a skore more of the best I have: this priest and boocher wer accused to the kynges majesties counsayll, of the treasons abovesayd on the Monday in the morning and the same day wer both sent for, whych confessed there treasons and so accordyng to the law mershal they wer adjudged to die: and so the sayd Monday they were both examined, condempned and hanged, the bocher was hanged on a new paire of Galowes set at the bridge ende before the castell gate: and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foote of Winsore bridge.

A boocher and a priest hanged.

This yere in Decembre was the Thamis of London al frosen over wherfore the kynges Majestie wyth hys beutifull spouse quene Jane, roade throughout the citie of London to Grenewich: And this Christmas the king by his messengers and herauldes sent doune into the Northe his general pardons to all capitall offendours: and shortlye after came Aske to London, and so to the court to the kyng: this Aske was the chief capitain of the last rebellion in the North, and now bothe pardoned of the kyng, and his grace received hym into hys favor and gave unto hym apparel and great rewardes, but as after ye shal perceyve Aske enjoyed not the kyng his new frendes kyndnes a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any favor at al, for there lyved not a veriar wretch aswel in parson as in condicions and dedes, specially againste hys anoynted governour and sovereigne lorde.

Aske the rebell of the North.

The third day of February was Thomas Fitz Garrad late earle of Kildare and fyve of his uncles drawen, hanged and quartered at Tiborne for hygh treason.

Also in the sayth moneth, Nichol Musgrave, Thomas Tilbie, with other began a new rebellion at Kirbie Staphan in Westmerland wyth eight thousand persones, and besieged the citie of Carlile, from whence thei were beaten, with the only power of the citie, and in their returning the Duke of Norffolke, who then was made livetenaunt of the North encountred

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encountred with them, and toke the Capitaines, and accordyng to the law marcial, arreigned threscore and fourtene of them, and hanged them on Carlile walles, but Musgrave escaped. And in the same moneth of Februarye began yet another insurreccion, by the intysement of sir Fraunces Bygod, a man no doubt that loved God, and feared his prynce, wyth a right obedient and loving fear: but now being deceyved and provoked ther unto by false rebellyous persones, it was his fortune to tast of the ende which apperteigneth to rebelles: such are men when God leaveth them to them selfes, and when they wyl enterpryse the doyng of that thinge whiche Goddes most holy word utterly forbiddeth. This Bigod was apprehended and brought to the tower of London: this laste rebellion began in Setrington, and in Pikerin Leigh, and Scarborough.

Sir Fraunces Bygod.

Robert Aske taken.

Also in the latter ende of thys yere, the lord Darcy, Aske, Sir Robert constable, sir Jhon Bulmer and his wyfe, sir Thomas Percie brother to the Erle of Northumberland, Syr Stephyn Hamelton, Nicholas Tempest Esquyer, William Lomley, sonne to the lord Lomley began agayn to conspyre, although they before had every one of theim their pardons, and now they wer all taken and brought to the Tower of London.

Robert Packyngton.

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good substaunce, and yet not so ryche as honest and wise, this man dwelled in Chepesyde at the sygne of the legg, and used daily at foure of the clock Winter and Sommer to ryse and go to Masse at a churche then called saint Thomas Acres (but now named the Mercers chapel) and one mornyng emong al other, beyng a great Mistie morning, such as hath seldome be sene, even as he was crossing the strete from his house to the churche, he was sodenly murthered wyth a gonne, whiche of the neighbours was playnly hard, and by a great nombre of laborers at the same tyme standynge at Soper lane ende, he was both sene go furth of his house, and also the clappe of the gonne was hard, but the dede doer was never espied nor knowen, many were suspected, but none could be found fawty; howbeit, it is true, that forasmuch as he was knowen to be a man of a great courage and one that both could speake and also woulde be harde: and that the same tyme he was one of the

the burgeses of the parliament, for the citie of London, and hath talked somewhat against the covetousnes and crueltie of the Clergie, he was had in contempt with theim, and therfore moost lyke by one of theim thus shamefully murdered, as you perceyve that Mayster Honne was in the sixte yere of the reygne of thys kynge.

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IN June the lord Darcy and the lord Hosey wer arreigned at Westmynster before the Marques of Exceter, then hygh stuard of England, and thei were both found giltie and had ther judgement as in caces of hygh treason.

The Lorde Darcy. Lord Hosey.

Shortly after wer also arreigned Sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Percy, Sir Fraunces Bygod, Sir Stephin Hamelton, Sir Jhon Bulmer and hys wyfe, which some reported was not hys wyfe but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nicholas Tempest, and the Abbottes of Jerney and Ryvers, and Robert Aske, and all founde gyltye of high treason, and al put to death at Tiborne, saving Sir Robert Constable, which was hanged in chaynes on Beverley gate at Hul and Aske was also hanged in chaines in Yorke on a Tower, and Sir Jhon Bulmers Paramour, was brent in Smithfelde in London: And in the latter ende of June, was the Lorde Darcy behedded at Tower hyll, and shortly after was the Lorde Hosey behedded at Lyncolne.

Thys yere at the feaste of S. George, was the Lorde Cromewell made knyght of the Gartier.

In Octobre on saynct Edwardes even was borne at Hampton court the noble Impe Prince Edward, whose Godfathers at the Christening were the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, and the duke of Norffolke and hys Godmother the ladye Mary the kynges doughter, and at the byshopyng was Godfather the duke of Suffolke. At the byrth of this noble Prince was great fyres made through the whole realme and great Joye made wyth thankesgeving to almightie God, whiche had sent so noble a prince to succede in the croune of this realme: But lorde what lamentacion shortly after was made for the death of his noble and gracious mother quene Jane, which departed out

The birth of Prynce Edwarde, nowe our soverrygne Lorde and Kynge Edwarde the vi.

Quene Jane departed.

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out of this lyfe the fourtene day of Octobre, next folowyng: and of none in the realme was it more heavelier taken then of the kynges Majeiste himself, whose death caused the king imediatly to remove unto Westminster, wher he mourned and kepte hym self close and secret a great while: and the eyght daye of Novembre the Corpes of the Quene was caryed to Windsore wythe great solempnitie, and there was buryed in the middes of the queer in the Castel Churche: And at the same tyme was made in Poules a solempne herce for her, wher was Masse and dirige, and in lyke maner was song Masse and dirige in every parish church in London.

Quene Jane buried.

The kinges Majestie kept his Christmas at Grenewich in his mournyng apparel, and so was all the Courte till the morowe after Candlemas day, and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the Viscount Beauchamp was created erle of Hertford and sir William Fitzwilliam highe Admirall created Earle of Southhampton.

This yere James kyng of Scottes, maried the Lady Magdalene the Frenche kynges eldest doughter.

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ffrier fforest.

IN May there was a Freer, called freer Forest, one of the observaunt freers, but he might have bene more trulier named as after shall appeare, an obstinate Freer, this obstinat Freer had secretly in confessions declared to many of the kynges subjectes that the kyng was not supreme heade, and being herof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworne to the contrary, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man never consented therunto: At this answer the lordes who examined him loked very straungly at the dissimulacion of the Freer, but being farther accused of diverse heretical and dampnable articles, that he held contrary to the scripture of god, he was after sondry examinacions convinced and confuted, and gladly submitted himselfe to abide the punishment of the church:

church: But upon this his submission, havyng more libertie then before he had, aswel to talke with whom he would, as also, who that he would to talke with him, certein such outward men as he was so talked wyth him and so incensed him, that the outward Freer was as far from his open submission as ever he was, and when his abjuracion was sent him to read, and loke upon, he utterly refused it, and obstinately stode in all his heresies and treasons before conspired, al gentle meanes that was possible to be sought for his reconciliacion was had, but the more gentler that the magistrates were to him, the more obstinat was the freer, and would neither argue nor answere: wherfore justly he was condempned, and after for him was prepared in Smithfeld in London a Gallowes on the which he was hanged in chaynes by the middle and armholdes al quyck, and under the gallowes was made a fire, and he so consumed and brent to deth. At his commyng to the place of execucion, there was prepared a greate skaffolde, on which sat the nobles of the realme, and the kynges Majesties mooste honorable counsayle only to have graunted pardon to that wretched creature, yf any spark of repentaunce woulde have happened in him: ther was also prepared a Pulpit where a right reverend father in God and a renoumed and famous Clerck the bishop of Worceter called Hugh Latimer, declared to him hys errours, and openly and manifestly by the scripture of God confuted them, and wyth many and godly exhortacions moved him to repentaunce, but such was his frowardnes that he neyther wold hear nor speak. And a litle before the execucion, a houge and great image was brought to the Galowes, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshipped: This Image was called Darvel Gatheren, and the Welshmen had a prophesy that this Image should set a whole Forest on fyre, which prophesy now toke effect, for he set this freer Forest on fyre and consumed him to nothing. Thys Freer when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so unpacientlye toke hys death, that no man that ever put his truste in God never so unquietlye nor so ungodly ended his life: yf men myght judge hym by hys outward man, he appered to have litle knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at hys endyng. Upon

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A prophesie.

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Upon the gallowes that he died on, was set with greate letters these verses folowing.

David Darvel Gatheren
As sayth the Welshmen
Fetched Outlawes out of Hell.

And Foreest the Freer
That obstinate lyer
That wylfully shalbe dead.

Now is he come, with spere and shild
In harnes to burne in Smithfeld
For in Wales he may not dwel

In his contumacie
The Gospel doeth deny
The kyng to be supreme heade.

In July was Edmond Conyngsbey attainted of treason, for counterseatyng of the kynges Signe Manuell: And in August was Edward Clifford for the same cause attainted, and both put to execucyon as traitors at Tiborne. And the Sondaye after Barthelemew day, was one Cratwel hangman of London, and two persones moo hanged at the wrestlyng place on the backsyde of Clerken wel besyde London, for robbyng of a bouth in Bartholomew fayre, at which execucion was above twentie thousand people as I my selfe judged.

A hangman hanged.

In thys moneth of Auguste, the Kynge of Scottes maryed the ladye Mary late Duches of Longvile. And in Septembre by the speciall mocyon of the Lorde Cromewell all the notable Images unto the whiche were made anye speciall Pilgrimages and Offerynges, were utterly taken away, as the Images of Walsyngham, Ypswyche, Worceter, the Ladye of Wilsdon, wyth manye other. And lykewyse the Shrines of counterfeated Sainctes, as the Shrine of Thomas Becket and dyverse other. And even forth wyth by the meanes of the saied Cromwell, al the ordres of supersticious and beggyng Freers, as White, Gray, Black, Augustine, Croched Freers, and likewise al the puling Nonnes, with their Cloisters and houses wer suppressed and put doune.

Images suppressed.

All counterfeat religions suppressed.

In this season, sute was made by the Emperour to the kynges Majestie, that he would take to wife the duches of Millayn, but in this matter the Emperors counsaill so dalied with the kyng, that shortly he left of that suit: of the which breakyng of with the Emperour, the Duke of Cleave hard, and

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and therfore forthwith he made suite to the kynges Majestie for his fayre sister the Lady Anne: undoubtedly the Emperours counsayl thought by a cautel to have brought the kyng to sue to the bishop of Rome for a licence, which thing the kynges Majestie sone smelled and perceived wher about thei went. In the moneth of Novembre one Jhon Nicholson otherwise called Lambert a priest, was accused of heresy, for deniyng the Sacrament of the Aultare to be Christes naturall body: This man appealed to the kynges Majestie, who graciously consented to heare him, and a day was appoincted: against whych daye was made in the kynges palace at Westminster called the white hall, in the kynges hall a throne or liege royall for the Kynges Majestie, and Skaffoldes for all the lordes, and a stage for Nicholson to stand on: thys Nicholson was a man named to be learned, but that day he uttered no suche learnynge, as he was of many supposed, that he both coulde and would have done, but was excedyng fearfull and timerous. The Kynges Majesty accompanied with his Lordes and nobles of the Realme and divers of the bishops and clergy kept the day appoincted, wher before his majestie was brought the forsaid Nicholson, to whome certein of the bishops ministred diverse argumentes, but specially the kynges majestie him selfe did most dispute wyth hym, howbeit Nicholson was not perswaded nor woulde not revoke although the Kynges majestye graunted hym his pardon, wherfor there was he condempned and had judgement, and shortely after was drawen and burned in Smythfeld. The third day of Novembre were Henry Marques of excester and erle of Devonshire and sir Henry Pole knight and lorde Mountagew and Sir Edward Nevel brother to the Lorde Burgany sent to the tower which thre wer accused by sir gefferei Pole brother to the lord Mountagew, of high treason, and the two lordes were arreigned the last day of Decembre, at Westminster before the lord Awdeley of Walden, lord Chauncelor, and then the high stuard of England, and there found giltie, likewise on the third day after was arreigned sir Edward Nevel, Sir Gefferey Pole and two priestes called Croftes and Collines, and one holand a Mariner and all attainted, and the ninth day of Januarie, were the saied two lordes and Sir Edwarde Nevel behedded at the tower hil, and the two priestes

Jhon Lambert otherwise called Jhon Nicholson.

The Lorde Marques of Excester and other accused and condempned of high treason.

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priestes and Holande were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered, and Sir Gefferey Pole was pardoned.

On Aswednesday, were Jhon Jones, Jhon Potter, and William Maneryng, hanged in the princes liveries, because thei were the princes servauntes, on the Southside of Paules churchyard for killing of Roger Cholmeley esquyer in the same place of malice prepensed.

Sir Nicholas Carew behedded.

Also on the third day of March, was sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington, in the countie of Surrey knight of the Gartier, and Maister of the kyngs horse, before attainted of treason, behedded at the tower hil, wher he made a godly confession, bothe of his foly and supersticious faith, geving God most harty thankes that ever he came in the prison of the tower, where he first favored the lyfe and swetenes of Gods moste holy word meaning the Bible in English, which there he read by the meane of one Thomas Phelips then keper of that prison, but before he was a citezen and poyntmaker of London, which Phillips two yeres before had ben ther prysoner himselfe, and sore troubled aswel by syr Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokesley bishop of London, who often tymes examined the sayd Phelips, and layed many articles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldly used him selfe, that he maugre their evyl willes, escaped clerly their handes.

Thomas Phelips.

The nynth day of Marche, the kyng created at Westminster sir William Pawlet knight treasorer of his householde, Lord Sainte Jhon, and Sir Jhon Russel comptroller of his housholde, Lorde Russel.

The same tyme the kynge caused all the havens to be fortefyed, and roade to Dover, and caused Bulwarkes to be made on the sea coastes, and sent commissions throughout al the realm, to have his people muster: and at the same season on Ester day, was there thre skore unknowen shippes liyng in the dounes, wherfore all Kent arose, and mustered in harnes the same day.

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THE eight and twentie daye of Apryll, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of Salsbury Gertrude wyfe to the Marques of Excester, Reygnold Poole a Cardinall, brother to

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to the lorde Mountagew, Sir Adrian Foskew and Thomas Dingley knight of saynt Jhones, and dyverse other wer attainted of hygh treason, which Foskew and Dingley wer the tenth daye of July behedded. In thys parliament was an act made whiche bare this title: *An act for abholyshynge of diversitie of opinions, in certayne artycles concernynge Christen religion*, this act establyshed chiefly sixe articles, wherof among the common people it was called the act of syxe artycles, and of some it was named the whyp wyth syxe strynges, and of some other and that of the moste part, it was named the bloudy statute, for of truthe it so in shorte tyme after skourged a great nomber in the citie of London, wher the first quest for the inquirie of the offendors of the sayd statute sat at a church called Beckets house, now named the Mercers Chappel, that the said quest beyng of purpose selected and picked out emong all the rest of the inhabitauntes of the citie, that none might thereof be admitted which either had red any part of the holy scripture in English, or in any wyse favoured such as either had red it, or loved the preachers of it: insomuch as this quest was so zelous and fervent in the execucion of this statute, that they among them selves thought it not only sufficient to inquire of the offendors of the saied statute, but also by ther fine wittes and wyllyng mindes, thei invented to inquire of certayn braunches of the same statute as they termed it, which was not only to inquire who spake again masses, but who thei were that seldome came unto them: and also not only who denyed the Sacramente to be Christes very naturall body, but also who helde not up their handes at sacryng tyme, and knocked not on there brestes: And thei not only inquired who offended in the sixe articles, but also who came seldome to the churche, who toke no holy bread nor holy water, who red the Bible in the churche, or in communicacion contemned priestes, or Images in the Churches, etc. with a grat nombre of suche braunches: this appoincted quest so sped them selves wyth the sixe Articles, and ther awne braunches, that in fourtene daies space there was not a preacher nor other persone in the citie of name, whiche had spoken against the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, but he was wrapped in the sixe articles, insomuche as thei indited and presented

The act of the vi. articles.

The first quest that inquired of the sixe Articles.

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presented of suspicion to the nombre of five hundred persones and above: so that yf the kynges majestie had not graunted his pardon, for that by the good lorde Awdeley lord Chauncelor his grace was truly infourmed that thei were indited of malice: a greate many of them whych all ready was in prison, had bene shortly after skourged in Smithfelde wyth firy fagottes, that would have made the best bloud in ther bodies to have sprong but most graciously at that time his grace remitted all: although in the tyme that these sixe Articles indured whiche was eight yeres and more, thei brought many an honest and simple persone to there deathes, for suche was the rigour of that lawe, that yf two witnesses false or true, had accused any and avouched that thei had spoken agaynst the sacrament, ther was then no way but death, for it boted not to confesse that hys faith was contrarie, or that he saied not as the accusors reported: for thei would beleve the witnesses, ye and sometime certain of the clergie, when thei had no witnesses would procure some, or elles thei wer slaundered.

The kynges highnes whiche never ceased to stody and take payne both for the avauncement of the common wealth of this his Realme of England, of the which he was the only supreme governour and hed, and also for the defence of al the same, was lately enfourmed by his trustie and faithfull frendes, that the cankerd and cruel serpent the bishop of rome, by that Arche traitor Reignold Poole, enemie to godes worde and his natural contrey, had moved and stirred diverse great princes and potentates of Christendome to invade the Realme of England, and utterlye to destroy the whole nacion of the same: Wherefore his Majestie in his awne persone, without any deley toke very laborious and paineful journeies towardes the sea coastes. Also he sent divers of his nobles and counsailors to view and searche all the portes and daungers on the coastes where any mete or convenient landing place might be supposed, aswell on the borders of England as also of Wales. And in al soche doubtful places his highnes caused divers and many bulwarkes and fortificacions to bee made. And further his highnes caused the lorde Admiral erle of Southampton to prepare in redinesse shippes for the sea, to his great coast and charges.

And

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And beside this, to have all his people in a redynesse, he directed his commissions thorough out the realme to have his people mustered, and the harneis and weapons sene and viewed, to thentent that all thynges should be in a redinesse if his enemies would make any attempt into this Realme: And amongest other, one commission was directed to the right worshipfull sir William Forman knight Maior of London and his brethren, for to certifie all the names of all men betwene the ages of lx. and xvi. and the nomber of harnesses, weapons, with their kyndes and diversities: whereupon the said lord Maior and his brethren, every one havyng with them one of the counsaill or learned men of the citie repaired to their wardes, and there by the othe of the common counsaill and Constables of the same warde toke the nomber of the men, harnesses and weapons, according to their commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes and the nomber of the persones, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole nomber of suche as were certefied for able and apte persones for to Muster: Wherfore then they assembled theim selfes againe and chose out the moste able persones and put by thother, and specially al suche as had no harnesse, nor for whom no harnesse could be provided. But when they were credibly advertysed by the kynges Counsellour Thomas lord Cromewell knyght of the Noble Ordre of the Gartier Lorde Prevye Seale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Citie was muche bounden) that the kyng hymselfe woulde see the people of the Citie Muster in a convenient nomber, and not to set furthe all their power, but to leave some at home to kepe the Citie. Then eftsones every Alderman repayred to hys warde, and there put asyde all suche as hadde Jackes, coates of plate, coates of mayle and bryganders, and appoynted none but suche as had whyte Harnesse, excepte suche as should beare Morysh Pyckes, whiche had no harnesse but skulles: and they appoynted none but suche as had white harnesse, neither dyd they admyt any that was a Straunger, although they were Denyzens. When it was knowen that the kyng would see the Muster, Lorde howe glad the people were to prepare, and what desyre they had to do their Prince service, it would have made any faithfull subjectes harte to have rejoysed. Then every man beyng of any substaunce provided hymself a coate of whyte silke, and

The great Muster in London.

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and garnyshed their bassenettes with turves lyke cappes of sylke, set with ouches, furnyshed with chaines of gold and fethers: other gylted their harnesse, their halberdes and pollaxes. Some, and especiall certayne goldsmythes had their brest plates yea and their whole harnesse of sylver bullion. The Constables were all in Jornettes of white silke with chaines and battel Axes. The meaner sort of people were all in coates of white cloth very curiously trimmed with the armes of the citie before and behinde. The lord Maier hymself was in a faire Armour, the crestes therof were gylt, and over that a coate of blacke velvet with half sleves, and so was sir Roger Cholmley knight Recorder of London and al thother Aldermen and Shiriffes and such as had bene shirifes, al wel mounted on stirring horses richely trapped covered, with battel axes in their handes and Mases and chaines about their neckes. The lorde Mayer had iiii. fotemen all in white silke, cutte, ruffed and pounced: he had also ii. Pages well mounted on stirring coursers, richely trapped and appareled in coates of Crimosyn velvet and cloth of golde paled, with chaynes of gold, the one bearyng his Helme and the other his Axe. He had also xvi. tall men on foote with gilte halbardes, whose doubletz were white silke, and hosen doublettes and shoes all whyte, cut after the Almayne fassion, puffed and pulled out with red sarcenet, every one havyng a whyte lether Jerkyn all to cutte and chaines about their neckes, with fethers and broches on their cappes. The Recorder and every Alderman had about hym iiii. Halbardes trymmed warlike.

The Chamberlaine of the Citie and the Counsailors of the same and the Aldermens deputies which were appointed to be wiffelers on horsbacke were all in whyte dammaske coates on their harnesse, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great chaynes about their neckes, and propre Javelyns or battel axes in their handes and cappz of velvet richely decked.

The Wyffelers on foote iiii. C. propre and lyght persones all apparelled in whyte sylke or Jerkyns of lether cutte, with white hose and shoes, every man havyng a javelyn or slaughsworde to kepe the people in aray and cheynes about their neckes, and white fethers in their cappes.

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The Mynstrelles were all in white with the Armes of the Cytie, and so was every other persone at this Muster without anye diversite, savyng the lorde Mayer, the Recorder and his brethren who had crosses of velvet or satten pyrled with golde.

The Standarde bearers were the tallest men of every Warde, for whom were made xxx. new standardz of the devise of the citie besyde banners.

When every thyng was prepared, every Alderman mustered his awne warde in the fieldes, viewyng every man in his harnesse, and to cause suche as could shote, to take bowes in their handes, and thother bylles or pykes.

The viii. day of Maye, accordyng to the kynges pleasure, every Alderman in ordre of battell with his warde came into the common fielde at Myle ende, and then al the gonnes severed them selves into one place, the pykes in another, and the bowmen in another, and lykewyse the bylmen, and there rynged and snayled, whiche was a goodly syght to beholde: for all the fieldes from White chappell to Myle ende, and from Bednal Grene to Ratclyf and to Stepney were all covered with harnesse, men and weapons, and in especiall the battel of pykes semed to be a greate forest. Then every parte was devided into iii. partes, the pikes in iii. partes and so the other. Then were appoynted iii. battels, a forward, myddleward and rereward.

The Ordre in goyng.

About viii. of the clocke marched forward the lyght peces of Ordinaunce, with stone and powder, after them followed the Drommes and fiffes, and imediatly after them a Guydon of the Armes of the citie. Then followed master Sadeler capitain of the gonners upon a good horse in harnesse and a coate of velvet with a chayne of golde and iiii. Halbardes about him apparelled as before is rehersed. Then followed the Gonners iiii. in a ranke, every one goyng v. foote a sonder, every mans shoulder even with another, whiche shot altogether in divers places very cherefully, and especially before the Kynges Majestie, whiche at that tyme sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster where he viewed all the whole company: In lyke maner passed the second and third battels al well and

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and richely appointed. They passed as is saied, the formost Capitayn at ix. of the clock in the morning by the lytle conduite enteryng into Pauls churchyarde, and so directly to Westmynster, and so thorough the sainctuary and round about the parke of S. James, and so up into the fielde and came home thorough Holborne: and as the first Capitaine entered agayne to the lytle conduite, the last of the Muster entered Pauls Churchyarde, whiche then was iiii. of the clocke at after none. The nomber was xv. thousand, besyde Wyffelers and other wayters.

Insurrection in Gaunt.

In this yere about the feast of S. Jhon Baptist, the common people of the toune in Gaunt in Flaunders, began to grudge against the Officers of the Emperour, and thoccasion was this: The common people beyng supported of dyvers ryche Merchauntes of the towne complayned that the Excyse of the Wyne was so greate, that they payed of every pottell ii.d. for thexcyse that they solde by retaile, besyde the pryce of the wyne, and likewyse payed the Merchauntes whiche sold it in great: and yet that more greved them that the Abbots, Fryers, Chanons and other Religious persones and men of the Churche (of the whiche was great store in that toune) the whiche among them had the greatest ryches and wealth of that toune, should be exempt and dronke Wyne free without paiyng Excyse, which thyng turned to the charges of other, and therwith the commons founde them selves sore greved, and sayed that they were oppressed contrarye to their olde and auncient Privileges. The Rulers made promise that an ordre and way should be taken therein, but they desyred respite that they might knowe the mynde of the Quene of Hungary, Regent for the Emperoure of the lowe countrey, which Quene at that tyme was at Bruxel, and even then was goyng to vyset the countrey of Hollande. The Quene consented to nothyng that the commons desyred, but sent them a very cruell and frowarde aunswere not without great threates, that if they would not every man quietly remayne in their houses, and paye their excyse as they had bene accustomed to do, they should lyke rebels as they were be forced therunto whether they would or not: Wherfore the commons assembled, and when they had well digested the aunswere of the Quene, they determined to

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to seke another meanes, and fyrste they assembled themselves into a battel to the nombre of x. or xii. M. wel armed men, night and day watching and warding the toune, in suche sorte that themperours officers bare no rule: and he whom they called the chiefe Bailife or Governour of the toune durst not once shew his face amongest them, but by the helpe of a boy he conveied himself by a Postern and so got out of the toune. The people of Gaunt perceiving their Rulers thus departed, the chiefest of them that were in the toune condiscended and agreed to write unto the Frenche kyng for aide, and caused a Gentelman of their toune to devyse a letter, for the whiche afterwarde he lost his head.

The sute and request of the saied men of Gaunt was, that it woulde please the Frenche kyng to sende unto them men and municions, and to succour them as the auncient subjectes to the Crowne of Fraunce, and to deliver them from the bondage that they were in, and to remove from them the great Exactions and imposicions, that the Officers of the saied Emperour had oppressed them with all, and they would yelde and deliver all unto hym as to their sovereigne lorde, and in lyke maner would other tounes to them adjoynyng do. And for a truth (saith the wryter of the Annalles of Acquitain) if the Frenche kyng woulde have herkened unto their request and sute, it had bene an easy thyng for hym bothe to have enjoyed the possession of the greatest nomber of all the tounes in the lowe countrey: as Flaunders, Arthoys and the rest of that countrey, and also to have put the Emperour in great hazarde. But the Frenche kyng willing to kepe and holde the Truce which was concluded and sworne, havyng a greater respect to his faith and promyse then to his profite and gayne, thynkyng that if he should consent to the request of the Gauntoys, he should begin a newe warre to the noiaunce of the commen people of christendom, wherfore he refused utterly either to ayde or succour them.

The Quene of Hungarye thynkynge to have pacifyed all thys rumour, sent unto the toune of Gaunt her ryght trustie and valiaunt knight, the lorde of Sempy, of the house of Crovy, accompanied with the lorde Lyquerque and one of her Prevy counsaill: but these men amongest the

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the commons were not so well entertained as they thought they should have bene, and therfore taried not long amongest them, but were glad to convey themselfes from them in dissimuled apparell.

The Emperour being advertised of all this businesse, and perceiving his lowe countrey by the reason of sedicion was in daunger, devised meanes howe he might come to them, for then he was in Spain. He thought he would not hazarde hymselfe upon the sea: and he durst not truste the Almaynes, because he had broken promyse with theim so often concerning their generall counsaill that he promised to have assembled: wherfore he determined to move the French king and to sue for a safe conduitie to passe thorough Fraunce, which very gladly the Frenche kyng graunted hym, insomuch that after the French kyng knew of his desire, both he and the Dolphyn entreted most hertely the Emperour to passe that waye, trusting therby that it should have bene an occasion of peace betwene them.

All thynges mete for themperours assuraunce was so appoynted by the Constable of Fraunce, that the Emperour departed out of Spain, and came to Bayon, from thence to Burdeaux and so to Poyters: after he came to Loches where he met with the Frenche kyng and the Quene, and then they together passed from thence to Orleaunce, and so to Paris, into whiche citie they entered the first daye of January in the yere of our Lorde a 1539, and so from thence after great chere and royall enterteinement he passed thorough the lower countreis, and at last came to Bruxelles in Braband.

And first the Emperour under colour to have pitie and to remedy the pore commons of Gaunt, and saiyng that he would not only pardon their offences, but also he could not blame them being oppressed to complain, and by this meanes he obteined licence that the County of Reux accompanyed with ii. C. men of armes and v. M. Lance-knightes entered the toune saiyng to thinhabitauntes that this power was onely to kepe the toune in peace and quiet till a good and profitable ordre should be taken for the commons. The pore inhabitauntes beleving all that was promised and saied unto them and mistrustyng nothyng, threw of their harnesse, and every man peaceably went to their

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their houses. Then entered into the toune themperour accompanied with his brother the kyng of Hongary, and his sister the quene Dowager of Hongary, the Duke of Savoy and many other Princes, Lordes and Gentelmen, and a great power of men of warre, whiche entery was about Mydsomer, in the yere a. M.v.C.xl.

Themperour beyng in Gaunt and havyng thupper hand of them, that is to saie, beyng stronger within the toune then thinhabitauntes were, in the place of his great pitie that he semed to have on the pore inhabitantes at his first entery, he immediatly began to do execucion, and that of a great nomber of them, and without all mercy executed them, insomuche that among all other, the Gentleman which the commons enforced to write the letter to the French kyng was beheded, as before is expressed: and afterward themperour caused an Abbey of s. Banon to be suppressed, and in the same place at the charges of the Gauntois, he made a Castell of a marvelous largenesse, for it was ix. C. foote long, and viii. C. large: and not contented with suche as he put to death, but also of a great nomber he confiscated their landes and goodes, and finally he brake all their Privileges and Ordinaunces, and left the poore inhabitauntes of Gaunt in a miserable case: But now to returne to thaffayres of England.

In August the great Onele and Odonele entered into the English pale in Ireland, and brent almost xx. myle within the same: wherfore the lorde Grey then Deputie there, assembled a greate power and met with them the xx. day of August and put them to flight, wherfore the kyng sent over fyve hundreth freshe souldiers to aide his deputie.

In the ende of September the xvi. day of that moneth came to London Duke Frederyke of Bavyre Countye Palantyne or Palsgrave of the Ryne, and the xviii. daie came to London, the Marshal of duke Jhon Fredericke Prince Elector of Saxony, and the Chauncellor of William duke of Cleve, Gulycke, Gelder, and Berry. The Palsgrave was received and conducted to Wynsore by the duke of Suffolk: and thother were accompanied with other nobles, and the xxiii. day of the same moneth thei al came to Wynsore, where viii. daies they continually were feasted and

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and hunted, with al pleasure that might be shewed unto them: and the Palsgrave shortly departed and was honorably rewarded: and that season was concluded the mariage betwene the kyng and the lady Anne, syster to duke Willyam of Cleve, and great preparacion was made for the receivyng of her.

The xiiii. day of November Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Redyng and two Priestes, the one called Rug, and the other named Onyon, were attainted of high treason, for deniyng the kyng to be suppreme head of the churche, and was drawen, hanged, and quartered at Redyng. This Abbot was a stubborne Monke and utterly without learning. The same day was Richard Whityng Abbot of Glascenbury likewise attainted and hanged on Tower hyll beside his monastery, for the said case and other great treasons, which also was quartered: and the first day of Decemb. was Jhon Beche Abbot of Colchest. put to execucion for the same confederacy and treason.

In December were appointed to wayte on the kynges hyghnes person fiftie Gentelmen called Pencioners or Speares, lyke as they were in the first yere of the kyng.

The Receyvyng of the Lady Anne of Cleve.

The xi. day of December at the Turnepyke on thyssyde Gravelyng was the Lady Anne of Cleve received by the lorde Lysle Deputie of the toune of Calice and with the Speres and horsemen belongyng to the retinue there, all being fresh and warlike apparelled, and so marching toward Calice a myle and more from the toune met her Grace the Erle of Southampton great Admirall of England, and apparelled in a coate of purple velvet cut on cloth of golde and tyed with great aglettes and treifoiles of golde, to the nomber of iiii. C. and baudrickwise he ware a chayne, at the whiche did hange a whistle of gold set with ryche stones of a greate value. And in his company xxx. gentlemen of the kynges houshold very rychely apparelled with great and massy chaynes, and in especial syr Frauncis Bryan and sir Thomas Seymers chaynes were of greate valure and straunge fassion. Beside this, the Lorde Admirall had a great nomber of gentelmen in blew velvet and crimosyn sattyn and his yomen in damask of the same colours, and the Maryners of his ship in sattyn of Bridges, both coates and sloppes of the same colours, whiche Lorde Admirall with low obeysaunce welcomed her,

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her, and so brought her into Calyce by the lanterne gate, where the Shippes laye in the Haven garnyshed with their banners, pencelles and flagges, plesauntly to beholde. And at her entry was shot suche a peale of gonnes, that all the retinew much marveiled at it. And at her entery into the toune, the Mayer of the toune presented her with an C. marke in golde. And before the Staple hall stode Merchauntes of the Staple wel aparelled, which likewise presented her with an C. sovereynes of golde in a ryche pursse, whiche hertely thanked them, and so she rode to the kynges place called the Checker, and there she lay xv. dayes for lacke of prosperous wynde. Duryng whiche tyme goodly justes and costly bankettes were made to her for her solace and recreacion. And on s. Jhons day in Christmas, she with l. sayle toke passage about none and landed at Dele in the downes about v. of the clocke, where syr Thomas Cheiny lord Warden of the portes receaved her, and there she taried a space in a castle newly builte, and thether came the duke and duches of Suffolke and the byshop of Chichester, with a great nomber of knightes and esquiers and ladies of Kent and other whiche welcomed her grace, and so that nyght brought her to Dover castell, where she rested till monday: on whiche day for all the storme that then was she marched toward Caunterbury, and on Barain downe met her the Archebyshop of Caunterbury accompanied with the byshop of Ely, sainct Asse, saynt Davyes and Dover, and a great company of gentelmen well apparelled, and so brought her to s. Austens without Caunterbury, where she lay that nyght: and on the nexte day she came to Syttyngburne and there lodged that nyght. And as she passed toward Rochester on Newyers even, on Reynam down met her the duke of Norffolke and the lorde Dacre of the South, and the lord Mountjoye with a great company of knightes and Esquiers of Norffolke and Suffolke, and the Barons of thexchequer, all in coates of velvet with chaynes of gold, whiche brought her to Rochester where she lay in the palace all Newyeres day. On whiche day the kyng whiche sore desired to see her grace accompanied with no more then viii. persons of his prevy chamber, and both he and they all apparelled in marble coates prevely came to Rochester, and sodainly came to her presence, which therwith was sumwhat astonied: but after

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after he had spoken and welcomed her, she with most gracious and lovyng countenaunce and behavior hym received and welcomed on her knees, whom he gently toke up and kyssed: and all that after none commoned and devised with her, and that nyght supped with her, and the next day he departed to Grenewyche, and she came to Dartford.

On the morow being the third day of January, and saturday, in a faire playne on black heth more nerer the foote of shoters hill then the ascendent of the hyll called blacke heth hyll, was pitched a ryche cloth of gold and divers other tentes and pavilions in the whiche were made fyers and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receive her Grace: and from the Tentes to the parke gate of Grenewyche were all busshes and fyrres cutte downe, and a large and ample waye made for the shew of all persones. And fyrst nexte to the parke pale on the East syde, stode the Merchauntes of the Stilyard: and on the West syde stoode the Merchauntes of Jean, Florence and Venyce, and the Spanyardes, in coates of velvet. Then on bothe sydes of the waye stoode the Merchauntes of the Citie of London and Aldermen with the Counsellours of the saied Citie to the nomber of a C.lx. whiche were myxed with the Esquyers: Nexte upward towarde the Tentes stoode Knyghtes: Then the l. Gentelmen Pencioners, and all this sorte were apparelled in velvet and chaynes of gold, truly accompted to the nomber of xii. C. and above, besyde them that came with the kyng and her grace, whiche were vi. C. in velvet cotes and chaines of golde. Behynde the gentelmen stode the servingmen in good ordre, well horsed and apparelled, that whosoever had well viewed theim might saye that they for tall and comely personages and clene of lym and body, were able to geve the greatest Prince in Christendome a mortall breakefast if he were the kynges enemy: And of this sorte the gentelmen appertainyng to the lord Chauncellor, the lord Prevy seale and the lord Admiral and divers other lordes, beside the costly lyvereis and comely horses, ware chaines of golde.

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes from the parke gate towarde the crosse on the Heth, which was betwene the Rankes and the Tentes, and in this ordre they continued tyll the kyng and she were returned.

About xii. of the clocke her grace with al the company which

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which were of her owne nacion to the nomber of a C. horse, and accompanied with the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Archebyshop of Caunterbury and other byshops, lordes and knightes whiche had received and conveyed her as you have hard before, came doune shoters hyl toward the tentes, and a good space from the tentes met her the erle of Rutland her lorde Chamberleyn, syr Thomas Denyce her Chauncellor, and all her councellers and officers, amongest whom, doctor Daye appointed to her Almoner, made to her an eloquent oracion in latin, presenting to her on the kynges behalfe all the officers and servauntes: whiche oracion was aunswered unto by the Duke her brothers Secretarie there being present, whiche done, the lady Margarete Doglas, daughter to the Quene of Scottes, the lady Marques Dorcet, daughter to the Frenche Quene being Nieces to the kyng, and the Duches of Rychemond, and the Countesse of Rutland and Herfford with divers other ladies and gentelwomen, to the nomber of lxv. saluted and welcomed her grace, whiche alighted out of her Chariot in the which she had ridden al her long journey, and with most goodly demeanor and loving countenaunce gave to them hertie thankes and kissed them al, and after all her counsellors and officers kyssed her hand, which done, she with al the ladies entered the tentes, and there warmed them a space.

When the kyng knew that she was arived in her tent, he with all dyligence set out thorough the parke. And first issued the kynges Trompettes, then the kynges officers beyng sworne of his Counsail, next after them folowed the Gentelmen of the kynges prevy Chamber, some apparelled in coates of velvet embroudered: other had their coates garded with chaines of golde, very ryche to beholde, whiche were wel horsed and trapped: after them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so sir Willyam Hollys knyght Lorde Mayer of London rode with the lord Par beyng yongest Baron. Then followed Bisshoppes apparelled in blacke satten. Then immediatly followed the Earles, and then duke Phylyppe of Bavyer and Countie Palantyne of the Rhyne, rychely apparelled with the lyverey of the Toysant or Golden Fleece aboute hys necke. Then folowed the Ambassadours of the French kyng and themperour, next folowed the lorde Prevy Seale lorde Cromwell and the lord

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lord Chauncellor: then Garter kyng of armes, and the other Officers of armes and the Serjantes at armes gave their attendaunce on every side of the lordes: which lordes for the most part were appareled in purple velvet, the lord Marques Dorcet in the same sute bare the kynges sworde of estate. After hym a good distaunce folowed the kynges highnesse mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in ryche clothe of golde traverced latyce wyse square, all over enbroudered with gold of damaske, pearled on every syde of the embroudery, the buckles and pendentes were all of fyne gold. His persone was apparelled in a coate of purple velvet, somewhat made lyke a frocke, all over embroudered with flatte golde of Damaske with small lace mixed betwene of the same gold and other laces of the same so goyng traverse wyse, that the ground litle appered: about whiche garment was a ryche garde very curiously embroudered, the sleves and brest were cut, lyned with cloth of golde, and tied together with great buttons of Diamondes, Rubyes, and Orient Perle, his sworde and swordgyrdle adorned with stones and especial Emerodes, his night cappe garnished with stone, but his bonnet was so ryche of Juels that fewe men coulde value them. Besyde all this he ware in baudrike wyse a coller of such Balistes and Perle that few men ever sawe the lyke: and aboute his persone ran ten footemen all richely apparelled in goldsmithes worke. And notwithstandyng that this ryche apparell and precious Juelles were plesaunt to the Nobles and al other being present to beholde, yet his Princely countenaunce, his goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceded all other creatures beyng present, that in comparyson of his persone, all his ryche apparell was litle estemed. After hym folowed his Lorde Chamberlain, then came syr Anthony Browne Master of his horse, a goodly Gentelman and a comly personage, well horsed trapped and rychely apparelled leadyng the kynges horse of Estate by a long reyne of golde, whiche horse was trapped in maner lyke a barde with Crymosyn velvet and satten, all over embroudered with golde after an antyke fassion, very curiously wrought. Then followed the pages of honour in coates of ryche tynsell and Crymosyn velvet paled, rydyng on great coursers, all trapped in crymosyn velvet, embroudered with new devyses and knottz of gold

whiche

whiche were both plesaunt and costly to beholde. Then followed syr Anthony Wyngfeld Capitaine of the Garde, and then the Garde wel horsed and in riche coates. In this ordre the kyng rode to the last ende of the ranke where the speares or pencioners stode: and there every person that came with the kyng placed hymselfe on the one syde or the other, the kyng standyng in the myddes.

When her grace was advertysed of the kynges commyng, she issued out of her tent beyng apparelled in a riche goune of cloth of golde reysed, made rounde without any trayne after the Duche fassyon, and on her head a kall, and over that a rounde bonet or cappe set full of Orient Pearle of a very proper fassion, and before that she had a cornet of blacke velvet, and about her necke she had a partelet set full of ryche stone whiche glistered all the fielde. And at the dore of the tente, she mounted on a fayre horse rychely trapped, with her fotemen about her in goldsmithes worke embroudered with the blacke Lion, and on his shoulder a Carbuncle gold, and so she marched towarde the kyng: which perceiving her to approche came forwarde somewhat beyonde the crosse on Blacke Heth, and there paused a litle in a faire place tyll she came nerer: then he put of his bonnet and came foreward to her, and with moste lovely countenaunce and Princely behaviour saluted, welcomed and embrased her to the great rejoysyng of the beholders: and she lykewyse not forgettyng her duty, with most amiable aspecte and womanly behaviour received his grace with many swete wordes and greate thankes and praisynges geven to hym. And while they two were thus communyng, the fyftie Pencioners and the Garde departed to furnyshe the Courte and Halle of Grenewiche. And when the kyng had talked with her a lytle whyle, he put her on his ryght hande, and so with their footemen they roade as though they had bene coupeled together. O what a syght was this to se so goodly a prince and so noble a kyng to ryde with so fayre a Lady of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenaunce, and in especial of so good qualities, I thynke no creature could se them but his herte rejoysed.

Nowe when the kyng and she were mette and bothe their companyes joyned together, they returned thorough the rankes of Knyghtes and Esquyers whiche stode styll all this while and removed not, in this ordre: Fyrst her Trompettes

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Trompettes went forwarde, whiche were twelve in nomber besyde two kettle Drommes on horsebacke, then followed the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Counsaylours, then the Gentlemen of the Prevy Chamber, then the Gentelmen of her Graces Countrey in coates of velvet, all on great horses: after them the Mayor of London in crymosyn velvet with a riche collor, coupled with the yongest Baron, then all the Barons, nexte folowyng Bysshoppes, then Earles, wyth whom roade the Earles of Oversteyn and Waldocke, of her countrey, then Dukes and the Archebysshop of Caunterbury and Duke Phillip of Bavire, nexte folowed the Ambassadours, then the Lorde Prevye Seale and the Lorde Chauncellor, then the Lorde Marques wyth the Kynges sworde, nexte folowed the kyng hymselfe equally rydyng wyth his faire lady, and behind hym rode sir Anthony Browne with the kynges horse of Estate as you hearde before, and behynde her roade syr John Dudley Master of her Horses leadynge her spare Palferaye trapped in ryche Tyssue downe to the grounde: After them followed the Henxemen or Pages of Honoure, then folowed the Ladye Margarete Doglas, the Ladye Marques Dorset, the Duches of Richemond and Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutland and Hertforde, and other Countesses: then followed her Graces Chariot in the whiche she rode all her journey, well carved and gylte with Armes of her countrey curiously wrought and covered with cloth of gold, all the Horses were trapped with blacke velvet, and on them rode Pages of Honor in coates of velvet, in the which Charyot rode ii. auncient ladies of her countrey: nexte after the Chariot folowed vi. ladies and gentelwomen of her countrey all richely apparelled with cappes set with Pearle, and great chaynes of divers fassions after the usage of their countrey, whiche were very fayre of face, and with them rode vi. ladyes of Englande well besene. Then folowed another Chariot likewyse gilte and furnished as thother was: after that Chariot folowed x. Englishe ladyes well apparelled, next them another Chariot al covered with blacke cloth, and in that iiii. gentlewomen whiche were her Graces Chamberers: then folowed all the remnaunt of the ladies, gentlewomen and Maydens in a greate nomber whiche dyd weare that daie Frenche whodes: last of all came another Chariot all blacke with iii. Launders appertaynyng

taynyng to her grace : next after folowed a Horselytter of cloth of golde and Crimosyn velvet upon velvet paled, with horses trapped accordyngly whiche the kyng sent her. Then followed the servyng men of her trayne, all clothed in blacke and on great horses.

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In this ordre they rode thorough the rankes, and so thorough the parke and at the late Freers walle all men alyghted savyng the kyng the twoo Masters of the Horses and the Henxmen whiche rode to the halle dore, and the Ladies rode to the Courte gate. And as they passed they behelde on the wharfe howe the Citezens of London were rowyng up and down on the Thames even before them, every crafte in his barge garnished with Banners, Flagges, Stremers, Pencelles and Targettes, some paynted and beaten with the kynges armes, some with her Graces Armes, and some with the armes of their crafte or Mistery. Beside the Barges of every crafte, there was a Barge made like a ship, called the Batchelers barke, decked with cloth of gold, penons, pencels, and targettes in great nomber, on whom wayted a Foyst that shot great peces of Artillary. And in every barge was diverse sortes of Instrumentes and children and men syngyng, whiche sang and plaied altogether as the kyng and the Lady passed on the wharfe, whiche sight and noies they muche praised and allowed.

When the kyng and she were within the utter court, they alyghted from their horses, and the kyng lovyngly embrased her and kissed her, byddyng her welcome to her owne, and led her by her lyfte arme thorough the Halle whiche was furnished beneth the harth with the kynges Garde, and above the harth with the fyftie Pencioners with their batel Axes, and so brought her up to her prevy chamber, where he lefte her for that tyme.

And assone as the kyng and she was entered the courte, was shot out of the Tower of Grenewiche and there about, a great peale of Gonnes.

When the kynges company and hers was entered the parke, as you have hearde, then all the horse men on Blacke Heath brake their aray and had licence to departe to London, or to their lodgyng. To se howe longe it was or the horsemen coulde passe, and howe late it was in the nyght yer the footemen coulde get over London brydge, I assure you it was wonderous to beholde, the nomber was so great.

This

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This the noble lady remained unmaried untill the tuesday folowing beyng the daie of the Epiphany: on whiche daie about viii. of the clocke in the mornyng, his grace beyng appareled in a gowne of clothe of gold, raised with great flowers of sylver, furred with blacke Jenettes, his cote Crimosyn sattyn all to cutte and enbraudered and tied with great Diamondes, and a ryche coller about his necke, came solemply with his Nobilitie into the galery next the closettes, and there paused.

Then the Lordes went to fetche the Ladie Anne, whiche was apparelled in a gowne of ryche cloth of gold set full of large flowers of great and Orient Pearle, made after the Duche fassion rownde, her here hangyng doune, whiche was faire, yellow and long: On her head a Coronal of gold replenished with great stone, and set about full of braunches of Rosemary, about her necke and middle, Juelles of great valew and estimacion. In this apparell she goyng betwene the erle of Oversteyn and the Graunde Master Hostonden, whiche had the conduitie and ordre of the performaunce of her mariage, with moste demure countinaunce and sad behaviour, passed thorough the kynges chamber, all the Lordes goyng before her till they came to the galery where the kyng was, to whom she made thre low obeysaunces and curtesies. Then the Archebishop of Caunterbury received them and maried them together, and the erle of Overstein did geve her: and about her mariyng ryng was written: *God send me wel to kepe.*

When the Mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the Kynges closet and there hard Masse and offered their tapers, and after Masse had wyne and spyces, and that done, the kyng departed to his chamber, and all the Ladies wayted on her to her chamber, the Duke of Norffolke goyng on the ryght hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the lefte hande on her grace.

After nyne of the clocke, the Kyng with a gowne of ryche Tyssue lyned wyth Crymosyn Velvet embroudered, came to his closet, and she in her here in the same apparell that she was Maried in, came to her Closet with her Serjant of Armes and all her Officers, lyke a Quene, before her. And so the kyng and she went openly on Procession and offered and dyned together. And after dyner she chaunged into a gowne lyke a mannes gowne, of Tyssue with longe sleves

gyrte

gyrte to her, furred wyth ryche Sables, her narrowe sleves were very costly, but on her head she had a cap as she ware on the saterdaie before with a cornet of laune, whiche cap was so ryche of Perle and Stone, that it was judged to bee of greate valew. And after her fassion, her Ladies and Gententlewomen were appareled very riche and costly with chaynes of divers fassyons, and in this apparell she went that nyght to Evensong, and after Supped with the kyng: and after Supper were Bankettes, Maskes, and diverse dysportes, tyll the tyme came that it pleased the kyng and her too take their rest.

The Sonday after were kepte solempne Justes, whiche muche pleased the straungiers. On whiche daie she was appareiled after the Englishe fashion, with a Frenche whode, whiche so set furth her beautie and good vysage, that every creature rejoysed to behold her.

When the erle of Overstein, and other lordes and ladies which had geven their attendaunce on her grace al that jornay, and had been highly feasted of the kyng and other nobles, very sumpteously, thei toke their leave and had greate giftes geven to theim, bothe in money and plate, and so returned toward their countrey, leavyng behynd them the erle of Waldocke, and diverse other gentlemen and damoselles, which wer reteined with her grace, till she wer better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth daie of February next ensuyng, the kyng and she came to Westminster by water accompaignied with many nobles and prelates in Barges, on whom the Maior and his brethren in skarlet, and xii. of the chief compaignies of the citee, all in Barges garnished with Banners, Penons, and targettes, richely covered and replenished with minstrelsy, gave their attendaunce, and by the waye al the shippes shot their ordinaunce, and out of the tower was shot a greate peale of Gonnes, in goodly ordre.

The xii. daie of February, the Duke of Norffolke was sent in Ambassade to the Frenche kyng, of whom he was well enterteigned, and in thende of the same moneth, he returned agayn into Englande.

The xxiii. daie of February, wer foure readers sent for to the Starre Chamber, of every house of the foure principall Innes of Courte one, where sat the lorde Chauncellor, the lorde Previe seale, and xiiii. of the chief of the kynges counsaill,

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saill, and there the lorde Chauncellor declared, how sir Jhon Shelton knight, had by the advise of sir Humfrey Broune Knight, the Kynges Serjaunt, sir Nicholas Hare Knight, the Kynges counsailor, and Speaker of the Parliament, and Willyam Coignesby Esquire, attornay of the Duchie of Lancastre, all beyng his servauntes and of his Fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contrary to the statute made, anno xxvii. to the greate hynderaunce of the kynges prerogative, and the true meanyng of the saied statute, and also to the evill example of all other, that should defraude the lordes of their seigniories. Wherfore the saied sir Humffrey Browne, and sir Nicholas Hare, wer that daie by the whole Counsayll of the kyng, dismissed of their Offices and service to the kyng, and sent to the tower: and within thre daies after was William Coignisby sent thether, where thei remaigned ten dayes, and after wer delivered: but thei three lost all their offices, that thei had of the kyng.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Wynchester.

Doctor Barnes.

The first Sondaie in Lent, Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, preached at Paules crosse, and there intreated of the Gospel of that daie: and in his sermon especially, he touched the article of Justificacion, and so he handled it, that the third Sondaie in Lent next folowyng, one Doctor Barnes, of whom before you have heard, reproved in the sayed pulpit at Paules, the doctryne of the saied Bishoppe: and beeyng vexed with the Bishoppes Doctrine, he used many tauntes against hym, but one specially whiche was this, that he saied if the Bishoppe and he, wer together in Rome with the Pope, he knewe that greate sommes of money, could not save his life, but for the Bishoppe, there was no feare, but that a litle intreataunce, should purchase favour enough for hym: By this he noted the Bishop to bee but a Papist, whiche the Bishop so unquietly tooke that he complained of Barnes to the kyng, and there had hym examined, and at the last by the Kynges commaundement, he came to the bishoppes house, where likewise the bishoppe not onely examined hym, but also toke upon hym to be his skolemaster, and as moste menne and specially suche, as muche knewe and least cause had to lye, reported, he prepared the tower for his skole house, and made suche a rod to beate his skoler, that he beate hym as small as ashes, or he left hym: although Barnes, with twoo other persones, that is to saie, Jherom and Garret, of whom in the next yere folowyng, ye shall here more,

more, were by the Bishoppes procurement, appoynted in the Easter weke folowyng, to preache at sainct Mary Spittle beside London, the three solempne sermons in one of the which sermons that Barnes made, Barnes openly and before al the people, asked the Bishop forgevenes, for speaking so unreverently of him, in his former sermon, and he required the bishop if he forgave hym, in token thereof to holde up his hande, whiche like as it was long before he did, so it appered afterwarde to many, that it was but a counterfeat forgevenes. THE XXXI. YERE [1539-40]

The xii. daie of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Hare restored to the office of speaker, in the whiche was frely graunted, without contradicions, foure fiftenes and a Subsedy, of twoo s. of landes, and xii.d. of goodes, toward the greate charges of Bulwarkes.

The xviii. daie of April, at Westminster was Thomas lorde Cromewell, created Erle of Essex, and made greate Chamberlain of England, whiche ever the Erles of Oxenford had, whiche promocions he enjoyed short tyme, as after in the next yere maie appere. Thomas lord Cromwell created Erle of Essex.

THE XXXII. YERE.

THE first daie of Maie, sir Jhon Dudley, sir Thomas Seimour, sir George Carew sir Thomas Ponynges, sir Richard Cromewell, sir Anthony Kyngston knightes, enterprised a royall Justes, Tornay, and Barriers, whiche wer in white Velvet barded and based. The Justes began the first daie of Maie, the Tornay the third daie, and the Barriers the fifth which chalenge thei valiauntly performed, agaynst all commers, and also they kept open houshold at Duresme place, and feasted the kyng and Quene, and all the Lordes. Beside this, on Tewesdaie in the Rogacion weke, thei feasted all the Knightes and Burgesses of the Common house: and the morowe after thei had the Maior, the Aldermen and all their wifes to dinner, and so the Fridaie thei brake up houshold. A Justes.

In this Parliament whiche began the xviii. daie of April, as is afore rehersed, the religion of sainct Jhones in Englande, whiche of most men was named the knightes of the Rhodes, was dissolved, wherof hearyng sir Willyam Weston knight,

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knight, Prior of sainct Jhones, for thought died on the Assencion daie, beyng the fift daie of Maie.

In this monethe was sent to the Tower, Doctor Wilson, and docter Sampson bishop of Chichester, for relevyng of certain traiterous persones, whiche denied the kynges supremacie: and for the same offence was one Richard Farmer Grocer of London, a riche and welthy man, and of good estimacion in the citee, committed to the Marshall See, and after in Westminster hall was arraigned and attainted in the Premunire, and lost all his goodes.

Richard Farmer Grocer condempned in a Premunire.

The xix. day of July, Thomas lorde Cromewel, late made erle of Essex, as before you have hard, beyng in the counsail chamber, was sodainly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London, the whiche many lamented, but mo rejoysed, and specially suche, as ether had been religious men, or favored religious persones, for thei banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wisshyng that that daie had been seven yere before, and some fearyng least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be mery. Other who knewe nothyng but truth by hym, bothe lamented hym, and hartely praied for hym: But this is true that of certain of the Clergie, he was detestably hated, and specially of suche as had borne swynge, and by his meanes was put from it, for in deede he was a man, that in all his doynges, semed not to favor any kynde of Popery, nor could not abide the snoffyng pride of some prelates, which undoubtedly whatsoever els was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought unto: whiche was that the xix. daie of the saied monethe, he was attaynted by Parliament, and never came to his answere, whiche lawe many reported, he was the causer of the makyng thereof, but the truthe thereof I knowe not: The Articles for whiche he died, appereth in the Record, where his attaynder is written, whiche are to long to bee here rehersed, but to conclude he was there attainted of heresy, and high treason. And the xxviii. daie of July was brought to the skaffold on the tower hill, where he saied these wordes folowyng.

Thomas lord Cromwel committed to the Tower.

The wordes of the Lorde Cromwell spoken at his deth.

I am come hether to dye, and not to purge my self, as maye happen, some thynke that I will, for if I should so do, I wer a very wretche and miser: I am by the Lawe condempned to die, and thanke my lorde God that hath appoynted

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appoynted me this deathe, for myne offence: For sithence the tyme that I have had yeres of discrecion, I have lived a synner, and offended my Lorde God, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgevenes. And it is not unknowne to many of you, that I have been a greate traveler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithens the tyme I came therunto, I have offended my prince, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgevenes, and beseche you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgeve me. O father forgeve me. O sonne forgeve me, O holy ghost forgeve me: O thre persons in one God forgeve me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholike faithe, not doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Churche. Many hath sclaundered me, and reported that I have been a bearer, of suche as hath mainteigned evill opinions, whiche is untrue, but I confesse that like as God by his holy spirite, doth instruct us in the truthe, so the devill is redy to seduce us, and I have been seduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faithe of the holy Churche. And I hartely desire you to praie for the Kynges grace, that he maie long live with you, in healthe and prosperitie. And after him that his sonne prince Edward, that goodly ympe, maie long reigne over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaigneth in this fleshe, I waver nothyng in my faithe. And then made he his praier, whiche was long, but not so long, as bothe Godly and learned, and after committed his soule, into the handes of God, and so paciently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and Boocherly miser, whiche very ungoodly perfourmed the Office.

Sergeauntes Feaste.

On sainct Peters even, was kept the Serjeantes feast at sainct Jhones with al plentie of victaile. At which feast wer made ten Serjeauntes, three out of Greyes Inne, and three out of Lyncolnes Inne, and of every of the Tempels twoo. At whiche feast were present, all the lordes and commons of the Parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a greate nomber of the commons of the citee of London.

The morowe after Midsomer daie, the kyng caused the Quene to remove to Richemond, purposyng it to bee more for her health, open ayre and pleasure: but the sixt daie of July,

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July, certain Lordes came doune into the neither house, whiche expresly declared causes, that the mariage was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the Convocacion clerely determined, that the kyng might lawfully mary where he would, and so might she: and so were thei clerely devorsed and seperated, and by the Parliament enacted and concluded, that she should bee taken no more as Quene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleve.

Quene Anne devorced, and called Ladie Anne of cleve.

In this yere the lord Leonard Gray, brother to Thomas lord Marques Dorset, beyng the kynges lieutenaunt in Ireland, practised sondery feates for his proffite, as in deliveryng treytors beeyng hostages, and especially his nephew Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitzgarard before executed, and also caused suche of the Irishe menne, as he had intelligence with all, to invade suche of the kynges frendes, whiche he favored not: Wherefore the kyng sent for hym, and he mistrustyng and seyng no refuge wrote to the kynges enemies, to invade thenglishe pale after his departure. And also he kept the kynges Treasure, to his awne use, without reteignyng souldiours, accordyng to his commission whereupon, when he came to London, he was sent to the Tower.

The Lorde Graye sent to the Tower.

In July the Prince of Salerne, in the Realme of Napels, and the lorde Lois Devola, came into England to se the kyng whiche had high chere and greate rewardes, and so departed. And after them came Done Fredericke Marques of Padulla, brother to the Duke of Farrar, and the Prince of Macedonia, and the Marques of Tarra Nova, and Mounsire de Flagy and sixtene other gentlemen, from the Emperours Courte into Englande, to see the Kyng, whiche on the daye of Mary Magdalene, came to the Court to Westminster, and wer highly feasted and well interteined, and with greate rewardes departed.

The twentie and eight daie of July, as you have heard before in this yere, was the Lorde Cromewell behedded, and with him likewise was behedded the Lorde Hongerford of Heytesbury, whiche certainly at the tyme of his death, semed to bee very unquiet in mynde and rather in a frenesy then otherwise.

Lorde Hungerford beheded.

The thirtie daie of July, were drawen on herdelles out of the Tower to Smithfeld, Robert Barnes Doctor in Divinitee, Thomas Garard, and Wyllyam Jerome Bachelers in Divinitee,

Barnes, Garrard and Jerom.

Powell,

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Powell, Fetherston, and Abell. The firste three were drawen to the stake, there before set up, and were burned: and the latter three drawen to the Galowes, likewise there set up, and were hanged, behedded, and quartered. Here ye must note, that the first three, wer menne that professed the Gospell of Jesu Christ, and were Preachers thereof: But wherefore they were now thus cruelly executed, I knowe not, although I have searched to knowe the truth. But this I finde in their atteindor, for ye muste understande, that after thei had Preached at sainct Mary Spittle, as before I have declared, Barnes for learnyng his lesson no better was committed to the Skolehouse before prepared, whiche was the Tower, where he was kepte, and never called to examinacion, till his rod that he should bee beaten withall, was made, whiche was a sharp and greate Fire in Smithfelde: and for compaignie sake, was sent to the Skolehouse with hym, the for named Garet, and Jerome, whiche dronke all of one Cuppe. And as I saied before, thus muche I finde in their attaindor, that they were detestable and abhominable Heretickes, and that thei had taught many heresies, the nomber whereof was to greate in the atteindor to be recited, so that there is not one alleged, whiche I have often wondered at, that their heresies wer so many, and not one there alleged, as special cause of their deathe. And in deede at their deathe, thei asked the Shirifes, wherfore thei were condempned, who answered, they could not tell: but if I maie saie the truthe, moste menne said it was for Preachyng, agaynst the Doctryne of Stephen Gardiner Bishoppe of Wynchester, who chiefly procured this their death, God and he knoweth, but greate pitie it was, that suche learned menne should so bee cast a waie, without examinacion, neither knowyng what was laied to their charge, nor never called to answere.

Powell, Fetherston, and Abell.

The laste three whiche were Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for Treason, and in their attaindor, is speciall mencion made of their offences, whiche was for the deniyng of the kynges supremacie, and affirmyng that his Mariage with the Lady Katheryne was good: These with other were the treasons, that thei wer attainted of, and suffered death for.

The fourthe daie of August Thomas Epsam, sometyme Monke of Westminster, whiche had been prisoner for treason,

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treason, thre yeres and more in Newgate, came before the Justices of Gaole delivery at Newegate, and would not aske the kynges pardon, nor be sworne to be true to him wherefore his Monkes garment, was plucked from his backe, and he repried till the kyng knewe his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last Monke that was seen in his clothyng in Englande.

In this monethe were certain Commissioners, sent by the kyng into Ireland, to inquire of the lorde Leonard Gray, whiche certefied diverse articles against him, as ye shall here in the nexte yere folowyng.

Katheryn Haward shewed as Quene.

The eight day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Haward, nece to the duke of Norffolk, and daughter to the lord Edmond Haward, shewed openly as Quene at Hampton Court, whiche dignitie she enjoyed not long, as after ye shall here.

In the latter ende of this moneth, was universally through the realme greate death, by reason of newe hote agues and Flixes, and some Pestilence, in whiche season was suche a drougth, that Welles and small Rivers were cleane dried, so that muche cattell died for lacke of water: and the Thamis was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the Salt water flowed above London bridge, till the raine had encreased the freshe waters.

Egerton hanged.

On the xxii. daie of December, was Raufe Egerton servaunt to the Lorde Audeley, lorde Chauncellor, hanged, drawen, and quartered, for counterfetyng of the kynges greate Seale, in a signet, whiche was never seen, and sealed a greate nomber of Licenses for Denizens, and one Thomas Harman that wrote theim, was executed: for the statute made the last parliament, sore bounde the straungiers, whiche wer not Denizens, whiche caused theim to offre to Egerton, greate sommes of money, the desire whereof caused hym to practise, that whiche brought hym to the ende, that before is declared.

In the ende of this yere, the Frenche Kyng made a strong Castle at Arde, and also a Bridge over into the Englishe pale, whiche bridge the Crewe of Calice did beate doune, and the Frenchmen reedified the same and the Englishemen bet it doune again. And after the kyng of England sent fiftene hundred woorke men, to wall and fortefie Guysnes, and sent with them five hundred men of warre, with capitaines

taines to defende them. The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there wer fiftie thousande Englishemenne landed at Calice with greate ordinaunce: wherefore the Frenche kyng sent in all hast, the Duke of Vandosme, and diverse other capitaines, to the Frontiers of Picardy, to defende the same. The kyng of Englande hearyng thereof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southhampton and the lorde Russell, his greate Admirall, into the Marches of Calice, to set an ordre there: and after them sent CC. light horsemen, of the borders of Scotlande: whom the Frenchmen called stradiates, whiche lordes when they had set all thynges in a good ordre, shortly returned. THE XXXII. YERE [1540-41]

In this yere was burned in Smithfeld, a child named Richard Mekins, this child passed not the age of xv. yeres, and somewhat as he had heard some other folkes talke, chaunced to speake against the Sacrament of the aultar. This boye was accused to Edmond Boner Bishop of London, who so diligently folowed the accusacion, that he first found the meanes to Indite hym, and then arreigned hym, and after burned him. And at the tyme he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speake muche good, of the Bishop of London, and of the greate Charitee, that he shewed hym: and that he defied all heresies, and cursed the tyme that ever he knewe Doctor Barnes, for of hym had he learned that heresie, whiche he died for: The poore boye would for the savegarde of his life have gladly said that the twelve Apostles taught it hym, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, suche was his childishe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many spake and saied, that it was great shame for the Bishop, who thei saied ought rather to have labored to have saved his life, then to procure that terrible execucion, seyng that he was suche an ignoraunt soule, as knewe not what the affirmyng of an heresie was. Richard Mekyns brent.

You have hard before in the beginning of this yere, that doctor Wilson, and doctor Sampson Bishop of Chichester, wer sent unto the Tower: who now wer perdoned of the kyng, and set agayn at their libertie.

THE

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THE XXXIII. YERE.

A newe rebellion.

IN the beginnyng of this yere, v. priestes in Yorke shire began a new rebellion, with thassent of one Leigh a gentleman, and ix. temporall men, whiche were apprehended, and shortly after in diverse places put in execucion, in so muche that on the xvii. daie of Maie, the said Leigh and one Tatersall, and Thornton, wer drawen through London to Tiborne, and there wer executed. And sir Jhon Nevell knight was executed for the same at Yorke.

On the same daie was Margaret Countesse of Salisbury, which had been long prisoner in the Tower, behedded in the Tower, and she was the last of the right lyne and name, of Plantagenet.

The ix. daie of June, wer Damport and Chapman, twoo of the kynges Garde, hanged at Grenewhich by the Friers Wall, for robberies in example of all other.

The Lorde Graye condempned.

During this ceason, the commissioners that before wer sent into Ireland, to inquire of the lord Gray, certified xx. articles of high treason against hym, wherupon he was arreigned and tried by knightes, because he was a lorde of name, but no lorde of the parliament: howbeit he discharged the Jury, and confessed the inditement, and therupon was judged, and after behedded at the tower hill, where he ended his life very quietly and godly.

In this ceason was arreigned and condempned three gentlemen, called Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at sainct Thomas of Waterynges. Likewise was Thomas Fines Lorde Dacres of the Southe, arreigned before the Lorde Awdeley of Walden, then Chauncellour of Englande, and that daie high Stuard of the same at Westminster, and there before the saied Lorde Chauncellour and his Peres, he confessed the Inditement, and so had Judgement to bee hanged. And so the twentie and nyne daie of June, beeyng Sainct Peters daie at after None, he was led on foote, betwene the twoo Shirifes of London, from the Tower through the citee to Tyborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his body buried in the churche of sainct Sepulchres. The cause of the death of this noble manne, and the other gentlemen, was a murder of a symple manne, and

The Lorde Dacres of the South hanged.

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and an unlawfull assemble made in Sussex. Greate moane was made for them al, but moste specially for Mantell, who was as wittie, and towarde a gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a manne able to have dooen good service.

Submissions.

This Sommer the Kyng kepte his progresse to Yorke, and passed through Lyncolne Shire, where was made to hym an humble submission by the temporaltie, confessyng their offence, and thankyng the kyng for his pardon: and the Toune of Staunforde gave the Kyng twentie pounde, and Lyncolne presented fourtie pounde, and Boston fiftie pound that parte whiche is called Lynsey gave three hundred pounde, and Kestren and the Churche of Lyncolne gave fiftie pounde. And when he entered into Yorke Shire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same Shire, in cotes of Velvet, and foure thousande tall yomen, and servyng men, well horsed: whiche on their knees made a submission, by the mouthe of sir Robert Bowes, and gave to the Kyng nyne hundred pounde. And on Barnesoale met the kyng, the Archebishoppe of Yorke, with three hundred Priestes and more, and made a like submission, and gave the kyng sixe hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the Maior of Yorke, Newe Castle, and Hull, and eche of theim gave to the Kyng an hundred pounde. When the Kyng had been at Yorke twelve daies, he came to Hul, and devysed there certain fortificacions, and passed over the water of Homber, and so through Lyncolne Shire, and at Halontide came to Hampton Court.

Quene Katheryne beheded.

At this tyme the Quene late before maried to the kyng called Quene Katheryne, was accused to the Kyng of dissolute livyng, before her mariage, with Fraunces Diram, and that was not secretely, but many knewe it. And sithe her Mariage, she was vehemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, whiche was brought to her Chamber at Lyncolne, in August laste, in the Progresse tyme, by the Lady of Rocheforde, and were there together alone, from a leven of the Clocke at Nighte, tyll foure of the Clocke in the Mornyng, and to hym she gave a Chayne, and a riche Cap. Upon this the kyng removed to London, and she was sent to Sion, and there kepte close, but yet served as Quene. And for the offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, thei were put to death at Tiborne, the tenth daie of December. And the twentie and two daie of the same monethe, were arreigned

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arreigned at Westminster, the lorde Wylliam Hawarde and his wife, which Lorde Wyllyam was Uncle to the Quene, Katheryne Tilney whiche was of counsaill of her havyng to dooe with Diram, Elizabeth Tilney, Bouliner, Restwould, the Quenes women, and Walgrave, and Wyllyam Asby, and Damport gentle menne, and servauntes to the olde Duches of Norffolke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wyfe, all indited of misprision, for concealyng the evill demeanor of the Quene, to the slaunder of the Kyng, and his succession: all thei confessed it, and had Judgement to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes, and the proffite of their landes, duryng their lifes: howbeit shortely after, diverse of theim wer delivered by the kynges Pardon.

1. The sixtene daie of January the Parliament began, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the kyng certain peticions. First, that he would not vexe himself, with the Quenes offence, and that she and the lady Rocheford, might be attainted by Parliament.

2. Also, because of protractyng of tyme, whiche the more should bee to his unquietnes, that he would under his greate Seale, geve his royall assent, without tariyng the ende of the Parliament.

3. Also, that Duram and Culpeper, before attainted by the common law might also be attainted by Parliament.

4. Also, that Agnes Duches of Norffolke, and Katheryn Countesse of Brigewater her daughter, whiche were for concealyng the saied offence committed to the Tower and Indited of misprision, and the lorde William and other, arreigned of the same, might be likewise attainted.

Also, that whosoever had spoken or doen any act, in the detestacion of her abhominable livyng, should be pardoned.

To the whiche peticions the kyng graunted, saiyng that he thanked the Commons, that thei tooke his sorowe to bee theirs: Whereupon the Quene and the Lady Rocheforde, were attainted by bothe the houses. And on Saterdaie beyng the leventh daie of February, the Kyng sent his royall assent, by his greate Seale: and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the Common house called up, and there the acte redde, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daie, these twoo Ladies were behedded on the Grene, within the Tower with an axe, and confessed their offences, and died repentaunt.

Quene Katherin and the Lady Rocheford beheded.

At

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At this Parliament the Kyng was Proclaymed kyng of Irelande, whiche name his predecessors never had, but wer alwaies called lordes of Irelande.

The Kyng Proclaymed kyng of Irelande.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle bastard to Kyng Edward the fourth, in the tower of London unattainted, when he should have been delivered and put at his liberty. And the twelve daye of the saied moneth, sir Jhon Dudley sonne and heire to the saied Lorde Lisles wife was at Westmynster created Viscount Lisle.

George Ferreys.

The Parliament sittyng, in Lent one George Ferreis Bourgeoys for the toune of Plimmouth, was arested in London upon a condempnacion, at the suite of one White. Whereupon the Serjaunt at armes, of the Common house, was sent to the Counter in Bredestrete to fetche hym: but the Clerckes would not deliver hym, wherfore the Serjeaunt and his manne, would have brought him awaie perforce. Diverse of the Shirifes officiers there present, withstoode the Serjeaunt, so that they fell to quarellyng, and the Serjeauntes man was sore hurte. After the Fraie ended, the Shirifes of London whose names wer Rowland Hill, and Henry Suckely came to the Counter, and first denied the deliverye of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they delivered hym. But this matter was so taken in the Common house, that the Shirifes and the Clercke, and five Officiers, and the partie plaintife were sent to the tower, and there laye twoo daies, and were delivered agayn by the Speaker and Common house.

Although I have not used muche to declare of privat thynges doen, in other forrein Realmes, yet will I now tell of one because the thyng was so reported to me, and the matter it self so written and delivered me, that I must nedes judge it to be a truthe, and the like in al this woorke is not expressed, therfore I purposed woorde by woorde, as it was writen unto me, here to expresse it. The matter is of a certein Gentleman in Scotlande, who for contemning of the Bisshop of Romes usurped aucthoritie, and for praisyng and commendyng the affaires and procedinges of Englande, and reprovyng the naughtie life of the Scottishe Clergie, was, as an hereticke accused, and convented before diverse of theim, as after maie appere, there to make answere to suche Articles as should bee objected against hym. He knowyng their accustomed favor, fled from theim into Englande. Agaynst whom

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Sir Jhon Borthwike.

whom after he was gone, they proceded in suche sort, as by this that foloweth whiche is the true copie of the processe maie appere.

Sir Jhon Borthwike, commonly called Capitain Borthwike, accused, suspected, defamed and convicted by witnesses, whiche were men of suche honestie, against whom could none excepcion bee taken, the yere of our lorde, a thousande five hundred and fourtie, the xxviii. day of May in the Abbay of sainct Androwes, in the presence of the moste worshipfull fathers in Christ, Gawyn Archebishoppe of Glasgue, Chauncellor of Scotlande, William of Aberdowyn, Henry Bishoppe of Galloway and of the Kynges Chapell of Sterlyng, Jhon Bishoppe of Brecth. William bishop of Dunblan: Andrew Abbot of Melros, George Abbot of Dumfermelyng, Jhon Abbot of Paslay, Jhon Abbot Lundros, Robert Abbot of Kyllos, and Willyam Abbot of Culros: Malcolme Prior of Whitytern, and Jhon Prior of Pettywerin, Master Alexander Balfour Vicar of Kylmane, and Rector of the Universitie of sainct Androwes. And afore the cunnyng Masters, Master Jhon Mair, and Master Peter Chapilain, professors, and doctors of Divinitee, Master Marten Balfour, Bachelar of Divinitie, and of the lawe, and Officiall principall of sainct Androwes, Jhon Wyrem Supprior, Jhon Wannand, and Thomas Cunnyngham, Chanones of the Abbay of sainct Androwes, Jhon Thomson with his felowe, Prior of the blacke Friers of sainct Androwes, Jhon Tullydaff Wardein of the Grey Friers, of S. Androwes, and Jhon Patersone, vicar of the same covent. And also before the noble mightie and right worshipfull lordes, George Erle of Huntley, James erle of Arrain, Willyam erle Marshall, William erle of Montrosse, Malcolme lorde Flemmyng, Chamberlain of Scotlande, Jhon lorde Lindesay, Jhon lorde Erskyn, George lorde Seiton, Hugh lorde Symervall, sir James Homilton of Finnard, Walter lorde of S. Jhones of Torphecten knightes, master James Foules of Colynton clerke of the Register, to our moste sovereigne Lorde the Kyng and many and diverse and sondery other lordes, barons, and honest persones, required to be witnesses in the premisses, doth affirme that he hath holden these errors folowyng, openly taught them, and instructed them, that is to saie.

First,

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First, that our moste holiest lorde the Pope, the Vicar of Jesu Christ, cannot have nor exercise any more aucthoritie emongest christians, then any other bishop or priest.

1. Secondly, that Indulgences and Pardons, graunted by our moste holiest lorde the Pope, is of no value strength and efficacie, but utterly to the abusion of the people, and the deceivyng of our soules.

2. Thirdly, he saied that the Pope was a Simoniack, ever sellyng gyftes, and that all priestes might mary.

3. Fourthly, that al Englishe heresies (as thei are called) or at the least, the greater and better part observed by Englishemen, hath been and is good, and to be observed by christen men, as true and consonant to the law of God: in so much that he perswaded very many people to accept the same.

4. Fiftly, that the people of Scotlande, and the clergie therof hath been and is utterly execated and blinded, by affirmacion that thei had not the true catholike faith, affirmyng and openly saiyng, that his faith was of more value and better, then all the Ecclesiasticalles, of the realme of Scotland.

5. Item, likewise accordyng unto tholde opinions, of Jhon Wiclief and Hus, heresiarches and Master heretikes, condempned in the counsail of Constantine, he hath affirmed and farther declared, that Ecclesiasticall persones, should not possesse, have nor enjoye, any temporall possessions neither exercise jurisdiccion, or any kynd of aucthoritie in temporall matters, neither upon their awne subjectes, but that all should utterly bee taken awaie from them, as it is in these daies in Englande.

6. Item, he hath saied, holden, and affirmed falsely, and contrary to the honor, state, and reverence, of our sacred kynges majestye of Scotlande that our kynges majestie of Scotland, the moste clerest defendor of the christian faith, would contrary to the lawe and libertie of the holy churche, vendicat and chalenge unto his private uses, all ecclesiasticall possessions, landes, and yerely rentes, geven by his fore fathers, and also by hymselfe, and to inforce this matter he hath also by writyng perswaded our moste noble kyng, with all his endevor.

7. Item, he hath willed and sought, and many times hath desired hartely that the Churche of Scotlande should come, and be brought to the same poynt and ende, and to suche like

8.

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like fal, as the Churche of England, is now come to in deede.

9. Item, he hath saied, affirmed, and taught openly, the Cannon lawes and the Decrees of our holy fathers, approved by the Catholike and apostolike Churche, is of no valewe nor strength, bryngyng in and affirmyng the same, for to be made and set furth, contrary to the lawe of God.

10. Item, he hath saied holden and affirmed many waies that no religion should be kept, but that should bee abolished and destroyed, and to bee as it is now destroyed in Englande, and vilepending all holy Religion, affirmyng it to bee an abusion of the people, whose clothyng sheweth manifestly, to be deformed monsters, havyng no utilitie or holines, bryngyng in by this and perswadyng, asmuche as in hym lay, all adherentes of his opinion, that all the religion in this realme of Scotlande, should be destroyed and utterly taken awaie, to the moste greatest losse of the Catholike Churche, and to the deminishyng of Christen religion.

11. Item, it is plainly knowen by lawfull probacions, that the same Jhon Borthwike, hath had and actually hath, diverse bokes suspect of heresy dampned, aswell by the Papall, as by the Regall and ordinary aucthorities forbidden (that is to saie) firste of all the newe Testament in Englishe, printed in Englande, Œcolampadius, Melancthon, and diverse tractes of Erasmus, and other condempned heretickes, and also the boke of *Unio Discidentium*, conteinyng moste manifest errors, and that he hath red, studied, and communicated, and presented the same to other men, aswell openly as privatly, and that he hath instructed and taughte, very many Christians in the same, to the effect, to turne them from the very true and Catholike faithe.

12. Item, it is openly knowen, the same Jhon Borthwike, to bee so stubburne in all these foresaid errors and heresies, and to have susteined and taught the same, with suche an indurate mynde, so that he would not declyne by no maner of meanes from the same, for diverse of his frendes, and persons whiche loved hym, and would have had hym convert, to the catholike faithe, neither would he consent to theim in any wyse, but rather unmoveably persist in his errors.

13. For the whiche said articles, and many other errors holden, saied, publicated and taught by hym and (as the common voyce

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voyce is) which he stil holdeth and teacheth, the forsaid Jhon Borthwike to bee taken, holden, and coumpted as an Heretike, and a Master heretike, and as a very evil judger of the holy faithe.

The sentence or judgement.

Therfore we David of the title of sainct Stephyn in the mount Celo of the holy churche of Rome priest Cardinall, Archebyshop of saint Androwes, Primate of this whole realme of Scotlande and of the Apostolike seate Legate create, syttyng in our seate of justice in nature of Judges, the holy Evangelistes of God set afore us, that our judgementes procede from the sight of God, and our iyes must loke to equitie, having onely God and the catholike faith afore our iyes, the name of God being called upon and folowyng the counsayll aswell of the devines as lawyers, this foresaied Jhon Borthwike called capytain Borthwike condempned of the foresaid heresies, accused, suspected and infamed by lawfull probacions had and brought against hym in all the foresaides, convicted, cited, called and not appearyng but absentyng hym selfe lyke a runaway: Therfore let us thinke, pronounce, and declare hym to be convicted and to be punyshed worse then an heretike. And further more all his movables and unmovables by whatsoever title they be gotten and in whatsoever parties they lye, they to be geven to the secular power. And all offices had by dower or by his wyfe to be confiscat and spent to the use and custome of the lawe. Also we do declare by these presentes the image of the foresayed Jhon to be made to the likenes of hym, and to be brought into the metrapolitan Churche of sainct Andrewes and after that to the market crosse of the citie, there to be brent as a sygne and a memoriall of his condemnyng to the example and feare of all other. Lykewise we do declare that if the same Jhon be taken within our lyberties to be punyshed accordyng to the lawe of heretikes. Also we warne all true belevers in Christ of whatsoever state and condicion they bee, that they from this daie do not receive or admit into their houses, tentes, villages or tounes Jhon Borthwike to eate or to drinke or to preferre any kynd of humanitie in paine of such like punishment: Further, if there be any founde culpable in these foresaied that they shalbe accused as fautours and maintayners of heretiques, and they shalbe punished accordyng to the law. This sentence red and made and put in writyng in the Metrapolitan Churche of sainct Androwes

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Androwes we sittyng in our Tribunals seate, the yere of our Lord 1540, the xxviii. day of Maye drawen out of the Regester made against heretikes and agreyng with the sentence of Jhon Borthwike.

THE XXXIIII. YERE.

IN this yere James erle of Desmond came to the kyng and was honorably entertained and wel rewarded. And in September the great Onele came to the kyng to Grenewyche, where he and a capitaine of the North partes of Irelande called Magannysse and the Byshop of Cloar, made their submission in writing, confessyng their offences, and promisyng to serve the kyng and his heires truely: whiche submission by the kyng consydered, he upon the first daie of October created at Grenewyche the saied sir Eustace Onele called greate Onele (because he was the chiefe of his linage called Onele) Erle of Tereowen, commonly called Tyron and gave hym a great chayne, and made Magannysse and his cosyn knightes and gave them both chaynes, and he gave to the lord Mathias sonne to the erle, the Barony of Duncan.

At this ceason the kynges Majestie prepared for warre into Scotlande: the cause why this warre was made is moste manifestly declared by that whiche foloweth, which the kynges Majestie published by this title, *A declaration conteignyng the just causes and consideracions of this present warre with the Scottes: wherin also appeareth the true and ryght title that the kynges moste royall majestie hath to his sovereigntie of Scotland.* And it begynneth thus.

A declaracion of the cause of warre wyth Scotland set forth by the kyng.

Beyng now enforced to the warre, whiche we have alwayes hytherto so muche abhorred and fled, by our neighbour and Nephicu the kyng of Scottes, one, who above all other, for our manifolde benefites towardes him, hath moost just cause to love us, to honour us, and to rejoyce in our quietnes: We have thought good to notifie unto the worlde his doynges and behavour in the provocacion of this warre, and likewise thee meanes and wayes by us used to exchue and advoide it, and the just and true occasions, wherby we be now provoked to prosecute the same, and by utteraunce and divulgyng of that matter, to disburden some part of our

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our inwarde displeasure and griefe, and the circumstaunces knowen, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelitie of this tyme, in whiche thynges of suche enormitie do brest out and appeare.

The kyng of Scottes our Nephieu and neighbour, whom we in hys youth and tender age preserved and maintained from the greate daunger of other, and by our authoritie and power conduced him safely to the reall possession of his estate, he nowe compelleth and forceth us for preservacion of our honoure and right to use our puissaunce and power against hym. The like unkyndnes hath bene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Goddes lawe, mannes lawe, and all humanitie: but the oftener it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persones of princes for the raritie of theim can so happen but seldome, as it hath nowe come to passe.

It hath bene very rarely and seldome sene before, that a kyng of Scottes hath had in mariage a daughter of Englande: We can not, ne will not reprehende the kyng our fathers act therein, but lament and bee sory it toke no better effect. The kyng our father in that matter mynded love, amitie, and perpetuall frendship betwene the postery of both, which how sone it fayled, the death of the kyng of Scottes, as a due punishment of God for his injust invasion into this our realme, is and shalbe a perpetuall testimony to their reproche for ever, and yet in that present tyme could not the unkyndnesse of the father extinguyshe in us the naturall love of our Nephieu his sonne, beyng then in the miserable age of tender youth: but we than forgetting the displeasure that should have worthyly provoked us to invade that realme, noryshed and brought up oure Nephieu to achieve his fathers possession and governement, wherein he nowe so unkyndly useth and behaveth hym towardes us, as he compelleth us to take armour and warre against hym.

It is specially to be noted, upon what groundes, and by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that under a coloure of fayre speche and flatteryng wordes, we be in dedes so injured, contempned and dispised, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermitte and passe over. Wordes, writinges, letters, messages, ambassates, excuses, allegacions, could not more plesauntly, more gently, ne more reverently be

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be devised and sent, then hath bene made on the kyng of Scottes behalfe unto us, and ever we trusted the tree would bryng forth good fruite, that was of the one partie of so good a stocke, and continually in apparaunce put forth so faire buddes: and therfore would hardely beleve or geve eare to other, that ever alleged the dedes of the contrary, beyng neverthelesse the same dedes so manyfest, as we must nedes have regarded theim, had we not bene so lothe to thynke evyll of our Nephieu, whom we had so many wayes bounde to be of the best sorte toward us. And therefore havyng a message sent unto us the yere past from our saied Nephieu, and a promyse made for the repairing of the said kyng of Scottes unto us to Yorke, and after great preparacion on our part made therfore, the same metyng was not onely disappointed, but also at our beyng at Yorke, in the lieu thereof, an invasion made by oure saied Nephieu his subjectes into our realme, declaryng an evident contempt and dispite of us: We were yet glade to impute the defaute of the metyng to the advise of his counsaill, and the invasion to the lewdnes of his subjectes: And accordyng thereunto gave as benigne and gentle audience to suche ambassadours, as repaired hither at Christmas afterwarde, as if no suche causes of displeasure had occurred, specially consyderyng the good woordes, swete woordes, pleasaunt woordes, eftsones proponed by the saied Ambassadours, not onely to excuse that was past, but also to persuade kyndnes and perfite amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottes havyng contrary to the article of the league of amitie, received and enterteigned suche rebelles, as were of the chiefe and principle, in stirryng the insurrecion in the North against us wyth refusall before tyme, upon request made to restore the same: yet neverthelesse upon offer made the sayde Ambassadors, to sende commission to the bordures, to determyne the debates of the confines in the same, wyth so great a pretence of amitie and so fayre woordes as could be in speche desired: we were content for the tyme to forebeare too presse them over extremely in the matier of rebelles. Albeit we never remitted the same, but desyrous too make triall of our sayde Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to thee sendyng of commissioners to the borders, whyche to our greate charge we dyd, and thee kynge of Scottes our sayde Nephieu the semblable. Where after great travaile made by

by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that beyng for our parte chalenged a piece of our grounde, plainely usurped by the Scottes, and of no greate value, beyng also for the same shewed suche evidence, as more substancial, more autentique, more plaine and evident, can not be brought furth for any part of grounde wythin our realme. The same was neverthelesse by theym denyed, refused, and the evidence onely for thys cause rejected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it could not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytle, and of so small wayte, as no manne would have attempted to falsifie for suche a matter. And yet thys denial beyng in thys wyse made unto our commissioners, they neverthelesse by our commaundement departed as frendes fro the commissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath been accustomed for good rule upon the borders in the meane tyme.

After whiche their recesse, the lorde Maxwell, Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, made proclamacion for good rule, but yet added therwith, that the borderers of Scotlande should withdrawe their goodes from the borderers of Englande: And incontinently after the Scotishe men borderers, the fowerth of July, entred into our realme sodaynly, and spoyled our subjectes, contrarye to our leagues, even after suche extremitie, as it had been in tyme of open warre. Whereat we muche mervailed, and were compelled therefore to furnishe our border wyth a garison for defence of the same. Where upon the kyng of Scottes sent unto us James Leyrmouth, Master of his houshold, wyth letters devised in the moste pleasaunt maner, offeryng redresse and reformacion of all attemtates. And yet neverthelesse at the entry of the sayde Leyrmouth into Englande, a great nombre of the Scottes, then not looked for made a forrey into our borders, to the great annoyaunce of our subjectes, and to their extreme detriment, wherewith and wyth that unsemely dissimulacion, we were not a litle moved, as reason would we should. And yet did we not finally so extremely persecute and continue our sayd displeasure, but that we gave benigne audience to the sayde Leyrmouth, and suffered ourselfe to be somewhat altred by hys woordes and fayre promises, tendyng to the perswasion that we ever desired, to fynde the kyng of Scottes suche a Nephieu unto us, as our proximitie of bloud, wyth our gratuitie unto hym, did require.

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In the meane tyme of these faire woordes, the dedes of the borders were as extreme as myght be, and our subjectes spoyled: and in a roade made by Sir Robert Bowes for a revenge therof, the same Sir Robert Bowes with many other taken prisoners, and yet deteined in Scotland, without puttyng them to fyne and raunsome, as hath be ever accustomed. And beyng at the same tyme assureaunce made on both sydes at the suite of the said Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottes ceassed not to make sundry invasions into our realme in such wise, as we were compelled to forget fayre wordes, and onely to consider the kyng of Scottes dedes, whiche appeared unto us of that sorte, as they ought not for our dutie in defence of our subjectes, ne could not in respect of our honour, be passed over unreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armye, as a due meane wherby we might atteigne suche a peace, as for the safegard of our subjectes we be bounde to procure.

After whiche preparacion made, and knowledge had therof, the kyng of Scottes ceassed not to use his accustomed meane of fayre woordes, whiche in our naturall inclinacion wrought eftsones their accustomed effect, evermore desirous to fynde in the kyng of Scottes suche a regard and respect to be declared in dedes as the correspondence of naturall love in the Nephieu to suche an Uncle, as we have shewed our self towardes hym, doth require. Wherfore upon newe request and suite made unto us, we determined to staie our armye at Yorke, appoyntyng the duke of Norffolke our Lieutenaunt, the lorde Previseale, the Byshop of Dureham, and the Master of our horses, there to commen, treate and conclude with the Ambassadours of Scotland, for an amitie and peace upon suche condicions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, wherby the warre might be exchued, beyng by sundry invasion of the Scottes then open and manyfest.

In this communicacion betwene our and theyr commyssioners, after divers degrees of commissions, shewed by the Scottes, and finally one, that was by our commissioners allowed, matiers were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothyng difficile or hard on our part, but so agreable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotlande sayed, they doubted not, but if it myght be brought to passe, that the kyng of Scottes our Nephieu might have a metyng with us, all matters should easely be componed and determined. Whereupon they

they left speakyng of any artycles of amitie, and the ambassadours of Scotland made much outward joy in communicacion of metyng, thei shewed theimselfe in wordes, fassion and behavour muche to delight in it, to rejoyce in it, and therewith thought it easy and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they toke it then for a thyng passed, a thyng concluded, and moste certaine to take effect, and onely desired syx daies to obteigne aunswere from their Master, and our armye for that tyme to stay and go no further: Whereunto our commissioners then agreed.

After these vi. dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a metyng precysely at suche a place, as they knewe well we would not, ne could not in wynter observe and kepe, wherewith when our Commissioners were miscontent, the Ambassadours of Scotland to relieve that displeasure, and to tempre the matter, whereby too wynne more tyme, shewed forth their instruccions, wherein libertie was geven to the Ambassadours to excede their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to any other by our commissioners thought convenient, whiche maner of procedyng, when our commissioners refused, allegyng that they would not conclude a metyng with men, havyng no commission thereunto: The Ambassadours of Scotland upon pretence to send for a more ample and large commission agreable to their instruccions for appointment of the place, obteined a delay of other syxe dayes, to send for the sayd ample commission without restraint of place. And after those syxe dayes they brought forth a newe commission, made in a good fourme, and without excepcion: But therewith they shewed also newe instruccions, conteinyng suche a restrainte as the former commission did conteine, so as the libertie geven to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last removed and taken away by the instruccions, with addicion of a speciall charge to the Ambassadours not to excede the same.

And thus fyrst the Ambassadours of Scotland semed to have wyl and desire to conclude a place semely and convenient, whiche for want of commission they myght not do, and at the last might have concluded a meting by vertue of their commission, and then for feare of the commaundement in their second instruccions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instruccions partly to excuse their kyng, who

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who should seme secretely to wyll more than in the commission he did openly professe.

And than with an ample commission from the kyng, they shewed their secrete instruccions for defence of theimselfe, why they proceded not according to their commission, not caryng howe muche they charged therin their kyng, whose faulte they disclosed to discharge theim selfe, trustyng that by benefite of the Wynter approchyng, and the tyme lost in their communicacion, their Master should be defended against our power for this yere, without doyng for their part that by honoure, ryght, lawe, and league they be oblyged and bound to do. And in this meane tyme our subjectes taken prisoners in Scotland could not be delivered upon any raunsome, contrary to all custome and usage of the borders in the tyme of peace and warre, and in this meane tyme stayed a greate part of our armie already prested, and in our wages to go forward. In this tyme Ambassadours (as ye have heard) assembled to talke of an amitie and concluded it not. The treatyng of amitie was put over by communicacion of a metyng.

The communicacion of meting was so handled by alteracion of commission and instruccions on their behalfe, as it appereth a plaine devise onely excogitate for a delay, whiche hath geven us lyght, whereupon more certainly to judge the kyng of Scottes inwarde affeccion towardes us, whose dedes and woordes well wayed and considered, doeth us plainely to understande, how he hath continually laboured to abuse us with swete and plesaunt woordes, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abrode with his unkynde and displeasaunt dedes. In his woordes he professeth an insoluble amitie, he allegeth kynred, he knowlegeth benefites, only the faulte is that he speaketh an other language to all the woorlde in dedes, and thereby so toucheth us in honoure and denegacion of justice, as we bee inforced and compelled to use the sworde, whiche God hath put in our hand as an extreme remedy, wherby to obteigne both quietnes for our subjectes, and also that is due unto us by right, pactes, and leagues.

We have paciently suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparacion at Yorke for his repaire to us: But should we suffre our people and subjectes to be so oft spoyled without remedy? This is done by the Scottes

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Scottes whatsoever their wordes be. Should we suffre our rebelles to be deteigned contrary to the leagues without remedy? This is also done by theim whatsoever their woordes be. Should we suffre our land to be usurped contrary to our most plaine evidence, onely upon a wille, pryde, and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoever their wordes be. And all these be over presumpteously done against us, and geve suche significacion of their arrogancie, as it is necessary for us to oppresse it in the beginning, lest thei should gather further courage to the greater displeasure of us and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreatyng of this matter, if we had not evidently perceived the lacke of suche affeccion as proximitie of bloud should require, we would much rather have remitted these injuries in respect of proximitie of bloud to our Nephieu, then we did heretofore the invasion of his father. But considerynge we be so surely ascertained of the lacke therof, and that our bloud is there frorne with the cold ayre of Scotland, there was never prince more violently compelled to warre then we be, by the unkynde dealyng, unjust behavor, unprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declareth hymselfe not to be moved there with, ne to have suche ernest regarde to the observacion to his pactes and leagues, ne suche respect to the interteinement of the administracion of justice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conservacion of amitie doeth require: whiche we muche lament and be sory for, and use nowe our force and puissaunce against hym, not for revengeaunce of our private displeasure (beyng so often deluded as we have bene) but for recovery of our ryght, the preservacion of our subjectes from injuries, and the observacion of suche leagues as have passed betwene us, fyrmely trustyng, that almightie God under whome wee reigne, woll assist and aide our just procedinges herein to the furtheraunce and advauncement of the right, whiche we doubt not shall ever prevaile against wrong, falsehead, deceipte and dissimulacion.

Hitherto it appeareth how this present warre hath not proceded of any demaunde of our right of superioritie, whiche the kyng of Scottes have alwaies knowleged by homage and fealtie to oure progenitours even from the beginnyng: But this warre hath bene provoked and occasioned upon present matter of displeasure, present injurie,

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injurie, present wrong ministred by the Nephieu to the uncle moste unnaturally, and supported contrary to the desertes of our benefites moste unkyndly. If we had mynded the possession of Scotlande, and by the mocion of warre to attaine the same, there was never kyng of this realme had more oportunitie in the minoritie of our Nephieu. Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more just title, more evident title, more certain title, to any realme that he can claime, then we have to Scotland, not devised by pretence of mariage, nor imagined by covenaunt, or contrived by invencion of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that estate establyshed by our progenitours, and recognised successively of the kynges of Scotland by dedes, woordes, actes, and writynges continually almoste without interrupcion, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitour Henry the VI. in whose tyme the Scottes abused the civyle warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnes, in omitting of their duty: whiche for the proximitie of bloud betwene us, we have bene slacke to require of them, beyng also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we have ever bene alwayes glad, rather without prejudice to omitte to demaunde our right, if it might conserve peace, than by the demaundyng therof to bee sene to move warre, specially against our neighbour, against our Nephieu, against him, whom we have preserved from daungier, and in such a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be unite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the common enemy the Turke.

But for whatsoever consideracions we have omitted to speake hytherto of the matter, it is nevertheles true, that the kynges of Scottes have alwayes knowleged the kynges of England superiour lordes of the realme of Scotland, and have done homage and fealtie for the same.

This appeareth fyrst by history, written by suche as for confirmacion of the truthe in memory, have truely noted and signified the same. Secondly it appeareth by instrumentes of homage made by the kynges of Scottes, and divers notable personages of Scotland, at divers and sundry tymes sealed with their seales, and remainyng in our treasory. Thirdly it appeareth by Regesters and Recordes judicially and autentiquely made, yet preserved for confirmacion of the same. So as the matter of title beyng moste

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moste playne, is furnyshed also with all maner of evydences for declaracion therof.

Fyrst as concernyng histories, whyche be called witnesses of tymes, the lyght of truthe, and the life of memory, and finally the convenient waye and meane, whereby thynges of antiquitie may be brought to mennes knowlege, they shew as playnly this matter as could be wyshed or required, with suche a consent of writers, as could not so agree uppon an untruthe, conteignyng declaracion of suche matter as hath mooste evydent probabilitie and apparaunce. For as it is probable and lykely, that for the better administracion of justice amonges rude people, two or mo of one estate might be rulers in one countrey unite as this Isle is: so is it probable and likely, that in the beginnyng it was so ordred for avoydyng discencion, that there should be one superior in ryght, of whom the sayd estates should depend. Accordyng wherunto we rede how Brute, of whom the Realme then called Britayn tooke fyrst that name (beyng before that tyme inhabited with Giauntes, people without ordre or cyvilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determinyng to have the whole Isle within the Occean sea to be after governed by theim thre, appointed, Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called England: unto whom as being the elder sonne, the other two brethern should do homage recognisyng and knowlegyng hym as their superior. Nowe consider, if Brutus conquered all this Iland, as the history saieth he did, and then in his awne tyme made this order of superioritie as afore: how can there be a title devised of a more plaine beginnyng, a more just beginnyng, a more convenient beginnyng for the order of this Iland, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continuall strife and variaunce conteine two or thre rulers in all pointes equall without any maner of superioritie, the inward conscience and remorse of whiche superioritie should in some part dul and diminishe the perverse courage of resistence and rebellion. The fyrst division of thys Isle we fynde it written after this sort without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And accordyng here unto we fynde also in history set forth by divers, how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessours have chastised the kynges of

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of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, whiche they cared not distinctly to commit to writyng, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other diligently enserchyng, what he might truely wryte of all Europe, and the Ilandes adjoynyng, over and besydes that whiche he writeth of the natures, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who so lyst to rede, shall fynde to have bene the very same in tymes paste, that we fynde theym now at this present, he calleth Scotland part of England, whiche is agreable to the division aforesayed, beyng in dede as in the lande continuall without separacion of the Sea, so also by homage and fealtie unite unto the same, as by particuler declaracions shal moste manifestly appere by the testymony of suche as have left writyng for profe and confirmacion thereof. In whiche matter passyng over the death of kyng Humber, the actes of Dunwald kyng of this realme, the devision of Belin and Brene, the victories of kyng Arthur, we shall beginne at the yere of our Lorde DCCCC. whiche is DCxlii. yeres past, a tyme of sufficient auncientie, from which we shall make speciall declaracion and evident profe of the execucion of our right and title of superioritie evermore continued and preserved hytherto.

Edward the first before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of Englande had under his dominion and obedience the kyng of Scottes. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot writyng that story in those daies, graunteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same, and this dominion continued in that state xxiii. yere: At whiche tyme Athelstaine succeded in the croune of England, and havyng by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Constantyne kyng of that partie, to rule and governe the countrey of Scotlande under hym, addyng this princely worde, That it was more honoure to him to make a kyng, then to be a kyng.

Xxiiii. yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our Lorde Dcccexlvii. Eldred kyng our progenitour, Athelstaines brother, toke homage of Irise then kyng of Scottes.

Xxx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde Dcccclxxvii. kyng Edgar our predecessor toke homage of Kinald kyng of Scottes. Here was a litle trouble in England

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England by the death of S. Edward kyng and martir, destroyed by the deceite of his mother in lawe: but yet with in memory.

XI. yeres after the homage done by Kynald to kyng Edgare, that is to say, in the yere of our lord M.xvii. Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes uttered some pece of their naturall disposicion, whereupon by warre made by our progenitour sainct Edward the Confessor xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord M.lvi. Malcolme kyng of Scottes was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland geven to Malcolme his sonne by our saied progenitour sainct Edward: unto whome the saied Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Within xi. yeres after that Willyam Conqueror entred this realme whereof he accoumpted no perfect conquest, untill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therfore in the saied yere, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde M.lxviii. the saied Malcolme kyng of Scottes dyd homage to the saied Wyllyam Conqueror, as his superior by conquest kyng of England.

Xxv. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lord M.xciii. the sayd Malcolme did homage and fealtie to Wyllyam Rufus, sonne to the saied Wyllyam Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who lykewise fayled of his dutie, and therefore was ordeined in that estate by the said Willyam Rufus, Edgare brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did his homage and fealtie accordyngly.

Seven yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde M.C. the saied Edgar kyng of Scottes, did homage to Henry the fyrste, oure progenitour.

Xxxvii. yere after that David kyng of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heire to Henry the first. Wherefore beyng after required by Stephyn, then obteigning possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the saied Matilde, and therupon forbare. After which Davids death, whiche ensued shortly after, the sonne of the saied David made homage to the saied kyng Stephyn.

Xiiii. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde

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Lorde M.Cl. Wyllyam kyng of Scottes, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a reservacion of their dutie to Henry the second his father.

Xxv. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde M.Clxxv. Wyllyam kyng of Scotlande, after muche rebellion and resistence, accordyng to their natural inclinacion, kyng Henry the seconde, than being in Normandy, Willyam then kyng of Scottes knowleged finally hys errour, and made his peace and composicion, confirmed with his greate seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotlande, makyng therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within xv. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lord M.C.lxxxx. the saied Willyam kyng of Scottes, came to our citie of Cauntorbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richard the first.

Xiiii. yeres after that, the saied Willyam did homage to oure progenitour kyng Jhon, upon a hyll besides Lyncolne, makyng his othe upon the crosse of Hubert then archebyshop of Cauntorbury, beyng there present a marveilous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Xxvi. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde M.CC.xvi. Alexander kyng of Scottes maried Margarete, the daughter of oure progenitour Henry the III, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at whiche tyme the saied Alexander dyd his homage to our saied progenitour: who reigned in this realme lvi. yeres. And therfore betwene the homage made by the saied Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the saied kyng of Scottes, to Edward the first at his Coronacion at Westminster, there was aboute fyfty yeres at whiche tyme the saied Alexander kyng of Scottes repayred to the saied feast of coronacion, and there did his duetie as is aforesaied.

Within xxviii. yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our lorde M.CC.lxxxii. Jhon Baliol kyng of Scottes, made his homage and fealtie to the saied kyng Edward the first, our progenitour.

After this began Robert Bruse to usurpe the croune of Scotlande, and to move sedicion therfore, agaynst theim of the house of Balioll, whiche made for a season some interrupcion in the saied homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memory. For within xliiii. yere after, whiche was

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was the yere of our lorde M.CCC.xxvi. Edward Baliol, after a great victory had in Scotland against the other faccion, and enjoying the croune of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thyrd.

And xx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lord M.CCC.xlvi. David Bruse, who was ever in the contrary faction, dyd neverthelesse in the title of the croune of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayed progenitour Edward the third.

Within ix. yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre against theim: where after greate victories, Edwarde Balioll havyng the just and right title to the Realme of Scotlande, surrendred clerely the same to our sayed progenitour at the toune of Rokysborough in Scotlande: where our sayd progenitour accepted the same, and than caused hymselfe to be crouned kyng of Scotland, and for a tyme enterteigned it, and enjoyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on thone partie by confiscacion acquired, and on the other parte by free will surrendred unto hym.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitour, Edward the third, beganne sedicions and insurreccions in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour Rychard the second, whiche was augmented by the alteracion of the state of the saied Rychard, and the devolucion of the same, to Henry the fowerth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their vagues, and folowe their accustomed manier. And yet Henry the V. for recovery of his ryght in Fraunce, commaunded the kyng of Scottes to attende upon hym in that journey. And in this tyme the realme of Scotlande beyng descended to the house of the Stewardes, of whiche oure Nephieu directly commeth, James Stewarde kyng of Scottes, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCCC.xxiii. made homage to Henry the sixt at Wyndsore. Whiche homage was distaunt from the tyme of the other homage made by David Bruse lx. yeres and more, but farre within the freshe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by storye to have bene made and done at tymes and season as afore: so do there remayne instrumentes made therupon and sealed with the seales of the kynges of Scotland testifiyng the same. And yet doeth it appere by story, howe the Scottes practised to

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to steale out of our treasurye dyvers of these instrumentes, whiche neverthelesse were after recovered agayne. And too the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the saied instrumentes be, here is inserted the effecte in worde and sentence as they be made, whiche we do, to mete with the cavellacion and contrived evasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to have bene made for the Earledome of Huntyngton, which is as trew as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hande, to saye he was cut with a sikle. And therfore the tenour of the homage is this.

'I Jhon N. kyng of Scottes shall be trew and faithfull 'unto you lorde Edward by the grace of god kyng of 'England, the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome 'of Scotland, and unto you I make my fidelitie of the 'same kyngdome of Scotland, the which I hold, and claime 'to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my faith and 'fidelitie of life and lymme and worldly honour against all 'men, and faithfully I shall knowlege, and shal do to you 'service due unto you of the kyngdome of Scotland a fore-'saied, as god so helpe and these holy evangelies.'

Now for the third parte touchyng recordes and registres, wee have them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handeled, and with such circumstaunces declaryng the matiers as they be and ought to be a great corroboracion of that hath ben in stories writen and reported in this matter. For a monges other thynges we have the solempne act, and judicial processe of our progenitour Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by twelve competitours: That is to say,

Florentius comes Holandie.
Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.
Willielmus de Vesti.
Willielmus de Ros.
Robertus de pinbeni.
Nicholaus de Soules.
Patritius Galightly.
Rogerus de Mundeville.
Jonnes de Comyn.
D. Joannes de Hastinges.
Joannes de Balliolo.
Robertus de Bruse.
Ercius rex Norwegie.

And finally, after a great consultacion and mature deliberacion, with discussion of the allegacions proponed on all parties, sentence was geven for the title of Balliol, accordyng wher unto he enjoyed the realme. But for confirmacion of the dutie

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dutie of the homage before that tyme observed by the kynges of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes, how when those competitours of the Realme of Scotlande repaired to oure saied progenitour, as to the chief lorde for discussion of the same, in as muche as the aucthoritie of the judgement to be geven depended ther upon: It was than ordered, that the whole parliament of Scotlande spirituall temporall and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering upon what ground and foundacion the Kynges of Scotlande had in tymes past made the saied homages and recognition of superioritie, the saied parliament fyndyng the same good and trew, should if thei so demed it, yeld and geve place, and by expresse consent recognise the same. At whiche parliament was alledged unto them, as apperth in the same recordes, not only these actes of the princes before those daies, and before rehersed: but also besides the testimonye of stories, the writynges and letters of foreyn princes, at that tyme recityng and rehersyng the same: Whereupon the saied parliament did ther agree to this our superioritie, and ensuyng their determinacion dyd particularly and severally make homage and fealtie with Proclamacion, that whosoever withdrue him selfe from doyng his duetie therein, should be reputed as a rebell: And so all made homage and fealtie to oure progenitour Edward the first. This Realme was in the tyme of the discussion of the title ruled by Gardians deputed by hym, al castels and holdes were surrendered to him as to the superior lord, in the tyme of vacacion, benefises, offices, fees, promotions passed in that tyme from the mere gift of our saied progenitour, as in the right of this croune of England, Shirifes named and appointed, writtes and preceptes made, obeied, and executed: and finally all that wee do nowe in the Duchie of Lancaster, the same dyd our progenitour for the tyme of our contencion for that title in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent of an agrement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At whiche tyme the bishopes of sainct Andrewes and Glascoo wer not as thei now be archebishopes, but recognised the archebishop of Yorke, whiche extended over all that countrey.

Now if the Scottes wil take exception to the homage of ther princes as made in warr and by force whiche is not true: what will thei say or can thei for shame allege against ther

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ther awne parliament not of some but of all confirmed and testefied by there writynges and seales? wherunto nothyng enforced them, but right and reason, beyng passed in peace and quiet without armoure or compulsion. If thei say thei did it not, they speake like them selfes, If thei say thei did it, then do thei now like them self, to withdraw ther duetie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus apereth unto you the begynnyng of the right of superioritie, with a perpetuall continuaunce, without intermission within memorie, certayne omission and forbearyng upon the groundes and occasions before specified we deny not. Wherby thei have many tymes sought and taken there oportunities, to withdraw the doyng of ther duetie in knowlege of our superioritie over them, which to avoyde, thei have not cared what thei saied or alleged, though it wer never so untrue: lyeng alwaies in a wait whan thei might annoy this Realme, not without there awne great daunger, peril, and extreme detryment. But as thei detracted the doyng of their dutie, so god ever graunted unto this realme force to compell them therunto within memorie, notwithstandyng any their interruption by resistaunce, which unto the tyme of our progenitor Henry the sixt never indured so long as it made intermission within tyme of mynd wherby the possession might seme to be enpaired from the time of Henry the sixt unto the seventh yere of oure reigne, oure Realme hath bene for a season lacerate and torne by diversitie of titles tyll oure tyme and sithence by war outwardly vexed and troubled: The storye is so lamentable for some parte therof as were tedious to reherse.

Sythen the death of our progenitor, Henry the VI. our Graundfather Edward the IIII. reigned, who after great traveyls to attayne quietnes in his Realme, finally in the tyme of preparation of warr agaynst Scotland, dyed.

Rycharde the III. then usurped for a small tyme in yeres, whom the Kyng our father by the strength of Gods hand overthrew in battayll, and most justly attayned the possession of this Realme, who neverthelesse after the great tempestious stormes, fyndynge all matters not yet brought to perfecte quyet and rest, ceassed and forbare to requyre of the Scottes to do their duty, thinkyng it policy rather for that tyme to assay to tame their nature by the pleasaunt conjunction and conversacion of affinitie, then to charge them

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them with their faulte, and requyre dutye of them, when oportunitie served not, by force and feare to constrayne and compell them.

And thus passed over the reigne of our father, without demaunde of this homage. And beyng our reigne nowe xxxiiii. yeres, we were xxi. yeres letted by our Nephieu his minoritie, being then more careful how to bryng him out of daunger, to the place of a king, then to receiue of him homage when he had full possession of the same. Wherefore beyng now passed sithens the last homage made by the king of Scottes to our progenitor Henry the VI. C.xxii. yere, at which tyme the homage was done at Wyndesore by James Stuard, then kyng of Scottes, as afore, lvi. of these yeres the crowne of this Realme was in contencion, the trouble wherof engendred also some busynesse in the tyme of the kyng our father, which was xxiiii. yere: And in our tyme xxi. yere hath passed in the minoritie of our Nephieu. So as finally the Scottes resortynge to their only defence of discontinuaunce of possession, can only alledge justli but xiii. yere of sylence in the tyme of our reygne, beynge all the other tymes sythens the homage done by James Steward, suche as the sylence in them had thei ben never so long, could not have engendred prejudice to the losse of any ryght, that may yet be declared and proved due. For what can be imputed to Kyng Edward for not demaundyng homage beynge in stryf for that estate, wherunto the homage was due? What should Rychard the III. serch for homage in Scotland, that had neither ryght ne leasure to have homage done unto hym in Englande? Who can blame our father, knowyng the Scottes nature never to do their dutie but for feare, yf he demaunded not that of them, whych they woulde exchue if thei might, beyng his Realme not clerely then purged from yll seede of sedicion, sparkled and scattered in the cruell civile warres before.

Lawe and reason serveth, that the passyng over of tyme not commodious, that the purpose, is not allegeable in prescription for the losse of any ryght. And the minoritie of the kyng of Scottes hath endured xxi. yeres of our reigne, whiche beynge an impediment on their parte, the whole prescription of the Scottes, yf the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced evidently to xiii. yere, which xiii. yere without excuse we have ceassed and forborne to demaunde our

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our dutie, lyke as the Scottes have lykewyse ceassed to offer and tende the same. For which cause neverthelesse we doo not enter this warre, ne mynded to demaunde anye suche matter, nowe beyng rather desirous to rejoyce and take comfort in the frendship of our Nephieu, as our neyboure, then to move matter unto hym of displeasure, wherby to alienate suche naturall inclinacion of love, as he should have toward us: But such be the workes of God, superior over all, to suffer occasions to be minystred, wherby due superioritie maye be knowen, demaunded and requyred, to the entent that accordyng ther unto all thynges governed in due ordre here, we may to his pleasure passe over this lyfe to his honor and glorye: which he graunt us to doo, in suche rest, peace and tranquilitie, as shalbe mete and convenient for us.

When the Kyng had setfurth the Declaracion of the cause of his war as is above mencioned. Then sent he furth the duke of Norffolke Lieutenaunt generall, accompanyed with the Erles of Shrewisbury, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Anguysh, Rutland, and the Lordes of the North parties, and syr Anthony Browne Master of the Kynges horsse, sir Jhon Gage Comptroller of the Kynges house, and xx.M. men well appoynted, whych entered Scotland the xxi. day of October, and taryed there, viii. dayes without battell, and brent the townes of Paxton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skytshell, Newthorne, Smellem Spyttle, the two Merdens, Slederyke, and the two Broxlawes, Florys and the Fayre Crofte, Ednem Spyttle, Roxborough, Kelsey and the Abbey, Lang Spronstow, Ryden, and Hadenston. And whyle the Duke was at Farneton in Scotlande the iiii. daie, there came to speake with him halfe a myle from the Hoste, from the kyng of Scottes, the Bishop of Orkeney and James Leiremouth Maister of the houshold, to entreate peace, but they agreed not. And the Armye laye so long in Scotlande as they myght for honger and colde without anye countenaunce of harme, and so for necessitie returned to Barwycke. And all this journey the Standarde of the Erle of Hampton which dyed at New Castell, was borne in the forwarde, because he was appoynted Capitayne of the same.

The kyng of Scottes hearyng that the Army was returned, reysed

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reysed an army of xv. thousand chosen men of all partes of his realme under the guydyng of the Lorde Maxwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bosting to tary as long in England as the Duke dyd in Scotland. And so on fridai beyng s. Katheryns even, thei passed over the water of Eske and brent certayne houses of the Greves on the very border. Thomas bastard Dacres with Jacke of Musgrave sent word to sir Thomas wharton Wardein for the kyng on the west Marches, to come on to succour them: but the sayd ii. valiaunt Captayns, although the Scottes entered fiersly, yet thei manfully and coragiously set on theim, with an C. light horsse, and left a stale on the side of a hill, where withal the Scottes wer wonderfully dismaide, either thinkyng that the duke of Norffolke, had been come to the west Marches, with his great army: or els thei thought that some greater armie came, when they espied sir Thomas Wharton, commyng with iii.C. men onely. But at that tyme, so God ordeined it to be, that thei at the first bront fled, and thenglishemen folowed, and there wer taken prisoners therles of Casselles, and Glancarne, the lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wardein, the lorde Flemmyng, the lorde Somerwell, the lorde Oliphant, the lorde Gray, sir Oliver Senclere, the kynges minion, Jhon Rosse lorde of Oragy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the lord Eskyn, Carre Lorde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwelles twoo brethren, Jhon Lesley Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and twoo hundred gentlemenne more, and above eight hundred common people, in so muche that some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They toke also twentie and foure gonnes, foure cartes with speares, and ten pavilions. This was onely the handstroke of God, for the Cardinal of Scotlande promised them heaven, for destruccion of Englande.

The Victorie at the Water of Eske.

The kyng of Scottes tooke a greate thought, for this discomfiture, and also because that an Englishe Herauld called Somerset was slain at Dunbarre, whiche thynges together he tooke so unpaciently that he died in a Frenesy. Although many reported that the kyng hymself was at this bickeryng, and there received his deathes wounde, and fled therwith into Scotlande. But howsoever it was, true it is as is aforesaied he died, and the Quene his wife was delivered of a daughter, on our lady Even before Christmas, called Mary. Of the prisoners

The death of the Scottishe Kyng.

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prisoners aforesaied twentie and foure of the chief of theim, were brought up to the Tower of London, and there were twoo daies. And on Saincte Thomas daye the Apostle before Christmas, they were solemply conveighed through London to Westminster, where the Kynges counsaill sat, and there the Lorde Chauncellor, declared to theim their untruthe, unkyndenes, and false dissimulacion, declaryng farther how the kyng had cause of warre against them, bothe for the deniyng of their homages, and also for their traiterous invasions without defiaunce, and also for kepyng his subjectes prisoners without redemption, contrary to the olde Lawes of the Marches, for whiche doynges, God as they might perceive had skourged theim: Howbeit the kyng more regardyng his honor, then his princely power, was content to shewe to theim kyndenes, for unkyndenes, and right for wrong. And although he might have kept theim in straite prison, by juste lawe of Armes, yet he was content that thei should have libertie, to bee with the nobles of his Realme, in their houses. And so accordyng to their estates, thei wer appoynted to Dukes, Erles, Bishoppes, Knightes, and other Gentlemen, whiche so entreteigned theim that thei confessed theimselfes, never to bee better enterteigned, nor to have had greater chere.

But after their newe gladnes, tidinges came to them, of the death of their Kyng, whiche thei sore lamented, and hearyng that he had lefte an onely daughter his heire, thei wisshed her in Englande, to bee maried to the Prince the kynges sonne. The kyng and his Counsaill, perceivyng the overture nowe to bee made, whiche waie without warre these twoo realmes might bee brought into one, sent for all the prisoners fewe lackyng, to his Manor of Hampton Court, on sainct Stephens daie, where thei wer so wel enterteigned, bothe of the kyng and his nobles, that thei saied, thei never sawe kyng but hym, and saied that God was better served here, then in their countrey: howbeit their Kirkmen preached, that in Englande was neither Masse, nor any service of God. And thei promised the kyng, to doo all that in theim laie with their frendes to performe asmuche as he required. Whereupon not without greate rewardes, thei departed towarde Scotlande, on Newe yeres daie, and by the waie thei sawe the Prince, and came to Newe Castle to the Duke of Suffolke, who upon hostages delivered

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delivered theim, and so thei entered Scotland and wer well and gladly welcomed.

Likewise therle of Angus, which was banished Scotlande, and had of the kynges Fee, yerely a thousande marke, and sir George Douglas his brother had five hundred marke. These wer accepted into Scotland, and restored by the last kynges will, and therle of Angus and diverse of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the privie counsail of the realme, by the Erle of Arrein, Governour of the young Quene, and the realme as next heire apparaunt: notwithstandyng that the Archebishop of Sainct Androwes and Cardinall, enemye mortall to the Kyng and realme of Englande for the Bishoppe of Romes aucthoritie (and partly set on by the Frenche kyng, for the same cause) had forged a will, that the kyng had made hym Governour, associate with twoo Erles of his affinitie, bothe of the Realme, and of the young Quene, contrary to the Lawes of Scotlande. Wherupon the saied Erle of Arrain, accordyng to his right, with the helpe of his frendes, tooke upon hym the rule of Governour, and put the saied false Cardinal in prison, and delivered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, accordyng to the custom of the Marches. And so in Marche next folowyng, the Scottes beganne their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfite peace, nor open warre betwene Englande and Fraunce, but Shippes were taken on bothe sides, and Merchantes robbed. And at the laste the Marchantes goodes on bothe parties were seazed, and likewyse the Ambassadours of bothe Realmes were staied: howbeit shortly after, the Ambassadours wer delivered, but yet the Marchauntes wer robbed, and no warre proclaimed.

In the ende of this yere, came from the Governour of Scotlande as Ambassadours, sir William Hambelton, James Leyremouthe, and the Secretory of Scotland, whose message was so meanely liked, that thei were fain to sende an Herauld into Scotlande, for other Ambassadors, and so hether came the erle of Glancarn, and sir George Douglash: and whatsoever their answere was, sir George returned in Poste, and within twentie daies, came agayn with an honest answere, but that honestie endured a small tyme.

THE

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THE XXXV. YERE.

IN the beginning of this yere on Trinitie Sondaie, was a newe League sworne, betwene the Kyng and the Emperour, at Hampton Courte, to bee frendes to their frendes, and enemyes to their enemies.

The thirde daie of June came to the Courte, from the Realme of Irelande, the Lorde Obryn, the Lorde Macke Willyam Brough, the Lorde Macke Gilpatricke. And in July the saied Obryn was created Erle of Townon, and Lorde Macke Willyam, was created Erle of Claurikard, and sir Dunon Obryn was made Baron of Ebranky, and so with rewardes they tooke their leave, and returned. Also the same Monethe, the Scottishe Ambassadours returned with greate rewardes.

At this season the Kyng and the Emperoure, sent Garter and Toyson Kynges at Armes, to demaunde certayne thynges of the Frenche Kyng, whiche if he dyd deny, then to defie hym, but he would not suffer theim to come within his lande, and so they returned. Whereupon the saied demaundes, were shewed to the Ambassadoure at Westminster. And in July the Kyng sent over sixe thousande tall menne, whereof was Capitain generall, sir Jhon Wallop, and sir Thomas Seymour Marshall, and sir Richarde Cromewell Capitain of the horsse menne, whiche assaulted a Toune called Laundersey, unto the whiche assaulte came the Emperoure in proper person. And shortely after came doune the Frenche Kyng in proper persone, with a greate armye, and offered the Emperoure battail, by reason whereof the siege was reysed, and streight the Frenche menne victayled the Toune, whiche was the onely cause of their commyng. For the nexte daie, the Emperoure beeyng ready, at the houre appoynted to geve battaill, and the Frenchemenne made greate shewe, as though thei would have come forwarde, but they dalied of all that Daye, and in the Night they ranne awaye, and trusted some to their Horsses, and some to their legges like tall felowes.

Laundersey.

In this yere, the kyng maryed Lady Katherin par wydow, late wyfe to the Lorde Latymer, at Hampton Court.

Foure persons condempned.

In this Monethe were Indited, arraigned and condempned at new Wynsore, foure menne that is to saye, Anthony Persone

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Persone Prieste, Robert Testwood Syngyng manne, Henry Filmer Taylor, and Jhon Marbeck Syngyng manne. All these menne were at one tyme, as is aforesaied, arreigned and condempned of Heresie, by force of the sixe Articles. The Heresies that they were condempned for, were these as thei are alleged in their Inditementes: Firste, that Anthony Persone should Preache twoo yere before he was arreigned, in a place called Wynkefelde, and there should saie. That like as Christe was hanged betwene two Thefes, even so when the prieste is at Masse, and hath consecrated, and lifteth hym up over his hedde, then he hangeth betwene twoo Thefes, excepte he Preache the woorde of God truly, as he hath taken upon hym to do.

Antony Person.

1.

Also, that he saied to the people in the Pulpet, ye shal not eate the body of Christe, as he did hang upon the Crosse, gnawyng it with youre teethe, that the bloud ronne about your lippes, but you shal eate it this daie, as ye eate it to morow, the next daie and every daie, for it refresheth not the body, but the spirite.

2.

Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the woorde of God, saied as foloweth. This is the woorde, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

3.

Also he saied that Christe sittyng with his disciples, tooke bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples saiyng. This is my fleshe, take it and eate it: and like wise tooke the Wyne and blessed it, and gave it to his Disciples saiyng, take it and drynke it: This is my bloudde: What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

4.

Item, Henry Filmer the Taylour arraigned of this Article, that he should saie. That the sacrament of the Aultare is nothyng but a similitude and a Ceremony. And also, if God be in the Sacrament of the aultare, I have eaten twentie Goddes in my life.

Henry Filmer.

Robert Testwoode arreigned of this Article, that he should saye in the tyme that the Prieste was liftyng up the Sacrament, what, wilte thou lifte hym up so high, what yet higher, take hede, let hym not fall.

Robert Testwood.

Jhon Marbecke arreigned, for that he had with his awne hande, gathered out of diverse mennes writynges, certayn thynges that were expresly against bothe the Masse, and the Sacrament of the Aultar.

Jhon Marbecke.

These

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These foure persones, were arraigned, condempned, and burned for the articles above saied, except Jhon Marbecke, whose honestie and innocencie, purchased hym the Kynges Pardon, the other thre wer burned at Wynsore aforesaied.

Beside these menne, were a greate nomber of Gentlemenne, aswell of the Kynges privie Chamber, as other Indited, by the procurement of one Doctor London, a Prebendary of Wynsore, and one Wyllyam Symons a Vaunt Parler: Whiche Gentlemenne made suyte to the Kynges Majestie, declaryng in what case they stoode. Whereupon Doctor London was examined, and so was the saied Symons, whiche upon their Othe of allegeunce, denied their Trayterous purpose, as after it was proved to their faces. Wherefore they were adjudged as Perjured persones, to weare Papers in Wynsore, and so thei did, and were after committed to the Flete, where the sayed Doctor London died. And here have I an occasion, because of doctor Londons perjury, to tell you how he was also the occasyon that another commytted wylfull perjury. The matter was, that a certayne robbery was commytted in Oxford in a College wherof the sayd Doctor London was Master, and certain plate by one of the said College was taken away and brought to London to sell, and it was solde to a Goldsmyth in London named Willyam Caloway. This Goldsmyth had before bought muche plate of the partye (which now solde the sayde stollen plate) beynge a man of credyte, and therfore suspected of nothynge. But this matter was so folowed, that the partye that stole it was taken, and so was dyvers accessaries. At the last, Doctor London knowyng to whom it was solde, and that the Goldsmyth was a man of the Newe learnynge (as they called hym) sware a great othe that he would hang hym or elles it shoulde coste hym fyve hundreth pounde: whereupon he caused also the sayde Goldsmyth to be attached as accessarye, and arreygned hym at the Sessions holden at Newgate in London: where it was alleged that they ought not by the lawe to enquyre of the accessarye before the principall: and there for the dispatche of the sayed Goldsmyth, it was alleged that the principall was hanged, whiche was nothynge so, for he was set at his lybertye and lyveth styll. But to be shorte, the Goldsmyth (which undoubtedly is a knowen, tryed and proved honest man and ever was of honest name and fame) was founde gyltye, and no remedy but

Doctor London.

Wyllyam Symons.

Willyam Caloway.

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but he must declare what he coulde say why he should not dye accordyng to the law: he prayed to have his booke: which was answered that he coulde not have it, for he was Bigamus. And now cometh the Perjury that I promysed to tell you of: His wyfe, which of all persons that knoweth her, is certaynly knowen to be an honest woman, and from her byrth hathe ever ben of as muche honesty as any woman maye be: And this woman had had two husbandes before, which also wer honest men, and she had children by them, and therefore was it alleged against this Goldsmyth that he was Bigamus: This good woman perceyvyng that her former mariages shoulde shorten her husbandes dayes, came into the open Courte before the Judges and affirmed by her othe contrarie to the truthe, that she was never maryed to mo men then to the sayde Goldsmyth, althoughe she had chyldren by her other husbandes and contynued dyvers yeres with theim, yet she sware she was Whore to them bothe and not maryed. And so by defamyng of her selfe, to her great prayse, she delyvered her innocent husband.

In this yeare was in London a great death of the Pestilence, and therfore Myghelmas Tearme was adjourned to Saynt Albons, and there was kepte to the ende.

In the weke of Christmas, came to the Kyng to Hampton Courte Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Cicile Prince of Malfeta, Duke of Juano, Capitayne generall of the chyvalrye and Army of the Emperour Charles, whiche came to the Kyng, to appoynt what tyme the Army and the Emperour shoulde be readye to invade Fraunce, and the appoyntment taken he departed, and had for his reward a C.liii. ounces in golden plate, and iiii.M.iii. oz. in gylte plate, which al was very curiously wrought. And all the tyme that he lay here, he lay at the kynges cost.

The sonday before Christmas was Lorde Wyllyam Parre, brother to the Queene, which had maryed the doughter and heyre of Lorde Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Courte, created Erle of Essex. And syr Willyam Parre Knyght uncle to them bothe, was made Lord Par of Horton and chaumberleyn to the Quene. And on Newyeres day was Syr Thomas Wriothesley the Kynges Secretary made Lorde Wriothesley of Tychefelde.

Also this yere was open warre proclamed with Fraunce, and

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and lycence geven to the Kynges subjectes to seaze upon the Frenchemen and their goodes as in lyke cases before had been accustomed.

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THIS yere the Kyng sent a gret army into Scotlande by sea, and he made the Erle of Hertfford Lieutenaunt Generall of the same. And the Vicount Lisle hygh Admirall, whiche valyaunt Capitaynes so sped them, that the thyrd day of Maie the Lorde Admirall arryved with all his Fleete which was two hundreth sayle in the Fryth, where he landed dyvers of his men and there tooke dyvers vesselles whiche after dyd hyghe servyce. And shortly they approched unto the towne of Lyth where they landed their men, and marched forwarde in three great batteyles, wherof my Lorde Admyrall led the vawarde, the Erle of Shrewsbury the arrerewarde, and the Noble Earle of Hertforde beyng Lieutenaunt, the battayle: Where they founde the Scottes assembled to the nombre of syxe thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the army. And at the fyrst the Scottes made towarde the Englyshmen as thoughe they would have set on the vaward, but when thei perceived the Englishmen so willynge to encountre with theym, namely the Cardinall who was there present, which perceived the devocion the Englyshmen had to see his holynesse, after certayne shot on bothe sydes, they made a sodayne retreate, and leavyng their artillary behynde them fled towarde Edenborough. The fyrst man that fled was the Cardinall lyke a valyaunt Champion, and with hym the Governour, the Erle of Huntley, Murrey and Bothwell, with manye other great men of the Realme. And shortly after the Englishmen mauger al the Scottes might do, entered the towne of Lith wher that night the army encamped them, and there thei found such richesse as they thought not to have founde in any towne of Scotland.

Lyth taken.

The next daye the Armie went towardes Edenborough toune, and when thei approched nere, the provost of the toune accompanied with one or two Burgesses, and twoo or thre officers at armes desired to speake with the kynges lieutenaunt,

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lieutenaunt, and in the name of all the toune saied, that the keyes of the toune shoulde be delivered unto his lordship condicionally, that they might go with bag and baggage and the toune to be saved from fire: Wherunto answer was made by the sayd lorde lieutenaunte, that wher as the Scottes had so manifestly broken there promises confirmed by othes and Seales and certefied by the whole parliament as is evidently knowen to the whole worlde, he was sent thether by the kynges highnes to take vengeaunce of there detestable falsehed, to declare and shewe the force of his highnes sworde to all suche as shoulde make any resistence unto his graces power sent thether for that purpose: And therefore he tolde them resolutely that onelesse thei woulde yelde up the toune franckly without condicion, and cause man, woman and chylde, to issue into the feldes, submittyng theim to his wyll and pleasure, he would put them to the sword and ther toune to the fire. The provost answered that it wer better for them to stand to ther defence. Whereupon commaundement was geven to the saied provost and officers at armes upon there perill to depart. And forth with the lord lieutenaunt sent to the vaward that thei shoulde marche towardes the toune, whiche courageously set forwarde, and the English gonners manfully set on the gates, specially sir Christopher Morice, that they did beat the Skottes from there ordinaunce, and so entred the gate called Cany gate by fine force, and ther slew a great nombre of the Skottes: And finally it was determined by the saied lorde lieutenaunt utterly to ruinate and destroy the saied toune with fire, whiche thyng immediatly was attempted, but because night was come, the armie withdrue to their campe, and then a fresh the next day set fyre where none was before, which continued that day and two dayes after burnyng. And shortly after came unto this Army by land foure thousande light horsemen sent by the kyng, whiche after thei were come, the army forsoke there Shippes and sent theim home laden with spoyle and goneshot whiche thei founde there, and dislodged their camp out of the toune of Lith, and set fire in every house, and brent it to the grounde: and so returned home by land, through all the mayn contry of Scotlande, burnyng and destroiyng every pile, fortresse and village that was in their walke, and so with great honour to the great rejoysyng aswel of the kynges majestie as of all his

Edenborough brent.

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his faithful and lovyng subjectes, they returned a gayn into England with the losse skant of fortie persones: and because their great exployt may be the better knowen, here shal folowe the names of the chief boroughes, castelles and tounes brent and desolated by this royall armie.

The borough and toune of Edenborough with the Abbey called holy roode house, and the kynges palace adjoynyng to the same.

The Abbey of newe botle: parte of Muskleborough toune, with the chappell of our lady of Lawret.

Hadington toune with the Friers and Nonry. Laureston with the graunge.

The toune of Lith brent, and the haven and pier destroyed.

The Castel and village of Cragmiller. Preston toune and the Castell. A Castell of Oliver Sancklers, The toune of Dunbarre.

Drilawe.	Chester Felles.	Crawnend.
Broughton.	Stan house.	The Ficket.
Dudistone.	Tranent.	Shenstone.
Beverton.	Trapren.	Kirkland hill.
Markle.	Belton.	East Barnes.
Hatherwike.	Butterden.	Quickwood.
Bowland.	Raunto.	Bildy and the tower.
Blackborne.	Enderleigh the pile and toune.	
Wester Crag.		

Also tounes and villages brent upon the sea by the English flete, which I cannot name the halfe.

Kynkone.	S. Minetes.	The quenes Fery.

parte of Petynwaynes, the Brent Island, with many other whose names I could not come by.

In this yere also the kynges majestie prepared two great armyes to Fraunce, the one was conducted and led by the duke of Norffolke and the gentle lorde Russell lorde prevy seale, which encamped at Muttrell and beseged the toune where they lay a long tyme, and left the toune as they founde yt: The other army was led by the valiante duke of Suffolk which was the kynges liuetenaunt of that armie, and beyng accumpanyed with the lorde chamberleyn, the Erle of Arondell Marshall of the felde, and Sir Jhon Gage comptrollor of the

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Boleyn beseged.

the kynges house, and Sir Anthony Browne master of the kynges horsses, with diverse and many other capitaynes: the ninetene day of July encamped before Bulleyn on the Est syde of the same upon the hill, where after many sharpe skyrmishes they gayned first the old man, and shortly after basse Boleyn.

The fourtene day of July the kynges majestie in his royall persone passed the ses from Dover to Calis, and the six and twentie day encamped him selfe before Bolleyn, on the north syde, with in lesse then halfe a myle of the toune, where his grace remayned tyll the toune was surrendered unto his majestie: the which toune he so sore assauted and so beseged with suche a boundaunce of greate ordinaunce that never was there a more valiaunter assaute made, for besyde the undermyning of the castel, tower and walles, the toune was so beaten withe ordinaunce that there was not left one house whole therein: and so sore was laied to the charge of the Frenchmen that after the kyng had assauted theim by the space of a moneth, thei sent furth of the toune to the kyng two of their chief captaynes, called Mounsire Semblemound, and Mounsire de Haies, whiche declared that the chief capitayne of the toune with his retinew was contented to delyver the toune unto his grace, so that they might passe with bag and baggage, which request the kynges majestie, mercifully graunted theim. And so on the next day, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullein, to whom in the kynges name, they delivered the keyes of the toune. And at after none departed out of Bulleyn al the Frenchmen. The nomber of the men of warre, that wer strong and galaunt, that came out of the toune, were of horsemen, lxvii. of footmen, xv.C.lxiii. of Gonners, viii.C. of hurte menne, lxxxvii. of women and chyldren, xix.C.xxvii. So there was in al that came oute of the toune, foure thousand, foure hundred, fiftie and foure, beside a great nomber of aged, sicke and hurt persones, that was not able to go furth of the toune. The last person that came furth, was Monsire de Vervine, grand capitaine of the Toune, which when he approched nere the place, wher the king stode, he alighted from his horse, and came to the king. And after he had talked with hym a space, the kyng toke him by the hand, and he reverently kneling upon his knees, kyssed hys hande, and afterwarde mounted upon hys horse and so departed.

The

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The kinges enteraunce in to Bullein.

The xviii. day, the kinges highnes having the sworde borne naked before him, by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and valyaunt conqueror rode into Bulleyn, and the Trompetters standyng on the walles of the toune, sounded their Trompettes, at the time of his entring, to the great comfort of al the kynges true subjectes, the same beholdyng. And in the enteryng there met him the duke of Suffolk, and delivered unto him the keyes of the toune, and so he roade toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him, on the South side of the toune. And within two dayes after, the kyng rode about al the toune, within the walles, and then commaunded that our Lady Church of Bullein, should be defaced and plucked doune, where he appoynted a Mount to be made, for the greate force and strength of the toune.

When the kyng had set all thinges ther in suche ordre, as to hys wisdom was thought best, he returned into England, to the great rejoysynge of al hys lovyng subjectes.

In the meane ceason, that the kyng laye before Bulleyn, and was like to have conquered the same, as at the last he did, as before you have hard the Emperor toke a peace with the French kyng, to the no litle grefe and displeasure of the kinges majestie, and that was the cause that the kyng so sodainly brake up his army, aswel at Bulleyn as also at Muttrell.

Shortly after besyde diverse and many sharpe skirmishes, made by the Frenchmen at Bulleyn, aswel by the Dolphyn with a great power which in the night season, stale upon Base Bullein, taking ther a great sort of sicke persones, and women in their beddes, whom without mercy they slew. How beit so manfully the Englyshmen, which escaped out of Base Bulleyn, behaved themselfes, gettyng weapons out of the hyghe toune, that they bet the Frenchmen agayn out of the Base toune, and after wyth the helpe of the high toune, they slewe a great nomber of them, and so agayn possessed quietly, the sayed Base toune: Besyde I say this skirmishe and many mo, Monsire de Bees came with xv.M. men, and encamped ryght agaynst the toune, on the other side of the water, entendyng there to have buylded a Forte. But the fourth daye of February, he was set upon his owne campe, by the moste valiaunt and fortunate Erle of Hertford and Lord Lisle, the Lord Gray and other: at whose comming

ming the sayde Monsire de Bees, wyth al his puyssaunce fled, leavynge behinde them al their ordinaunce, Tentes and plate.

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THE XXXVII. YERE.

THE vii. day of June, a great armye of Frenchemen, came nere to the haven of Bulleyn, and skirmished wyth thenglyshemen to the no great gayne of the Frenchmen: but this army which was accompted to the nomber of xx.M. ther encamped and began again to buyld a Fort, which before they departed, accomplished the same.

In June the lord Lisle Admirall of Englande, wyth thenglyshe flete entered the mouthe of the river of Sain, and came before Newehaven, where the great army of Fraunce laie, which were CC. sayl of shippes and xxvi. Galies of Force, wherof the bishop of Rome had sent xx. wel furnished wyth men and money, to ayde the French king. Thenglyshemen beyng but an C.lx. sayle, and all great shyppes, did not determine to set on the whole navie, but shot certayn peces of ordinaunce at theim, whiche caused the Galies to come abroade, and shot at the Englyshmen whiche Galies had greate advauntage, by reason of the calme wether: twyse eche part assauted other with ordinaunce, but sodainly the wynd rose so greate, that the Galies could not indure the rage of the seas: and thenglyshmen were compelled to entre the main seas, for feare of flattes and so sayled unto Portesmouth, where the kyng then laye, for he had knowelage by his espyalles, that the French army, entended to lande in the Isle of Wyght, wherfore he repaired to the cost, to se his realm defended.

After the departyng of thenglyshe navy, from Newhaven, the Admyrall of Fraunce, called the Lorde Dombalt, a man of greate experyence, halsed up hys sayles, and with hys whole navie, came to the point of the Isle of Wyght, called S. Helenes poynt, and there in good ordre cast their Ankers, and sent xvi. Galies dayly, to the very haven of Portesmouthe. Thenglyshe navye liyng in the haven, made them prest and set out towardes them, and styl the one shot at the other. But one day above all other, the whole navie of the Englishmen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their

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their settyng forward, a goodly ship of Englande called the Mary Rose, was by to much foly, drouned in the middest of the haven, for she was laden wyth much ordinaunce, and the portes left open, which were very lowe, and the great ordinaunce, unbreched, so that when the ship should turne, the water entred, and sodainly she sanke. In her was sir George Carewe knight, Capitain of the said shyppe, and foure hundreth men, and much ordinaunce.

At the same tyme certayn of the French menne, landed in the Isle of Wyght, where their capitayn was slayne and many other, and were to their great losse and payn, driven again to their Galies.

The kyng perceyving the great navie of the Frenchmen to approch sent letters for men into Hampshire, Somersetshire, Wilshire, and dyverse other places adjoyning: which repaired to his presence in greate nombers, wel furnished wyth armure and victayl, and all thynges necessary, so that the Isle was garnished, and all the Frontiers on the sea coast, furnished wyth men in great nomber.

The French capitaines having knowlege, by certain Fysher menne which they toke, that the kyng was present, and also of the great power that he had in readines, they disancred and sayled a long the coastes of Sussex, and a smal nomber of them landed in Sussex, whiche never returned to their shyppes, for they were taken up by the waye.

When they had searched al the coastes, and saw men ever redy to receive them, thei turned the sterne and returned home again, without any act worthy to be wrytten, done or enterprysed: saving that in this mean tyme their newe Fort against Bullein, was strongly furnished and fynyshed.

The nomber of the Frenchmen, as diverse prisoners that wer taken in the isle of Wyght, and in Sussex did report, wer lx.M. And at this time the French kyng wrote to the Emperor, and declared to him, that hys army had gotten the isle of Wight, the Portes of Hampton and Portesmouth, and diverse other places, which writyng was as true, as the French kyng hath in al his leagues and promyses, bene to the kynge of England.

In August folowyng, the noble erle of Hertford entered into Scotland, wyth xii.M. men, and destroied al the tounes in the midle Marches, and passed to the West marches, to the great detriment and losse of Scotlande, and destroyd Coldingham

Coldingham Abbey: and yet the Frenchmen and Scottes, whiche lay at Kelsey, durst not once encountre with hym.

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The death of charles duke of Suffolke.

In thys moneth died Charles, the noble and valiaunt duke of Suffolke a hardye gentleman, and yet not so hardy, as almoste of all estates and degrees of menne hygh and lowe, rych and poore, hartely beloved and hys death of them muche lamented, he was buryed at Wyndsore.

The xxiiii. day of November, a Parliament began at Westmynster by aucthoritie whereof, was graunted to the kyng a Subsedy, of ii.s. viii.d. of the pound, of moveable goodes, and iiii.s. the pounde in lande to be paied in two yere. And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitalles wer committed to the kynges ordre, duryng hys life, to alter and transpose, whych hys grace at the Prorogacion of the Parliament, promised to do to the glory of God, and the common profite of the realme.

A litle before this tyme, the noble and valiaunt lord Lisle, lord Admiral landed in Normandy, and brent the subbarbes of Treiport, and diverse villages alonge the sea cost, and destroyed and toke almooste all the shyppes in the haven, which was a ryche and a goodly pray, and so returned wythout any dammage.

The French kyng sore moved wyth these doynges, sent Monsire de Bees with xii.M. men, which entered into thenglish pale, beside Gravelyn, and brent Marke and diverse smal villages, and then returned.

Ever in maner wer skirmishes and Alarmes betwene high Bullein and the new builded fortresse, but the losse ran ever on the Frenchmens side.

This wynter was meanes made by themperor, that certain Ambassadors of England and Fraunce might mete, to common of a peace, whereupon the king of England sent to Guisnes, Cutbert bishop of Duresme sir William Paget his secretary, and doctor Tregonel. And the French kyng sent to Arde a bishop, the chief President of Roan, and a Notary, but no conclusion came to effect. Wherfore the kyng havynge perfyte knowlege, how the Frenchmen intended to buyld a new fortresse on s. Jhones rode, betwene Bullein and Calice: whiche thing had not onely sore distrussed Calice, but daily had put Bullein in trouble. Wherefore

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Wherefore he meaning to prevent so great a mischief, sent over the noble Earle of Hertford, and the valiaunt lord Lisle Admiral, and many valiaunt capitaines with vii.M. good souldiers, which gat the rode but ii. daies before the Frenchmen appointed to have bene ther, and in that place encamped themselfes. Monsire de Bees leader and conducter, of all the French affaires, encamped himself beside Hardelow, and durst not once come furth to set on our men, notwithstandinge his former preparacion and devyce.

These thinges thus hangyng, many great skirmishes were daylye betwene the Bullenoys, and the French Bastilion: and one day thone part lost, and the other gayned, and likewise the losers regained: but in one skirmishe wer lost xvi. Englysh gentlemen, and lxxx. other, although ther were slayne three rascal Frenchmen, and in this skirmish was slain, sir George Pollard. And in a like jorney was slayn sir Raufe Elderkare Capitain of the light horsemen, wyth a fewe other Englyshemen, but yet a great multitude of the Frenchmen, at that time lay on the ground.

The xxiiii. day of December, the kinges majestie came into the parliament house, to geve his royal assent, to suche actes as there had passed, where was made unto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oration, to the which it hath ever ben accustomed, that the lord Chauncellor made answere, but at this time it was the kynges pleasure, that it should be otherwyse, for the kyng himself made him answer, as foloweth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it.

Kyng Henry the VIII his answere to the speaker of the Parliament.

'Although my Chauncelor for the time beyng, hath before 'this time used, very eloquently and substancially, to make 'answer to suche oracions, as hath bene set furth in this high 'court of Parliamente, yet is he not so able to open and set 'furth my mynd and meanyng, and the secretes of my hart, 'in so plain and ample maner, as I my selfe am and can do: 'wherfore I taking upon me, to answer your eloquent oracion 'maister Speaker, say, that wher you, in the name of our 'welbeloved commons hath both praysed and extolled me, 'for the notable qualities, that you have conceived to be in 'me, I most hartely thanke you all, that you have put me in 'remembraunce of my dutye, whiche is to endevor my self 'to obtein and get suche excellent qualities, and necessary 'vertues,

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'vertues, as a Prince or governor, should or ought to have, 'of which giftes I recognise my self, bothe bare and barrein: 'but of suche small qualities, as God hathe endued me withal, 'I rendre to his goodnes my moste humble thankes, en-'tendyng with all my witte and diligence, to get and acquire 'to me suche notable vertues, and princely qualities, as 'you have alleged to be incorporate in my persone: These 'thankes for your lovyng admonicion and good counsaill 'firste remembred, I eftsones thanke you again, because that 'you consideryng our greate charges (not for our pleasure, 'but for your defence, not for our gain, but to our great 'cost) whiche we have lately susteined, aswell in defence of 'our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortresse, 'which was to this realme, moste displeasaunt and noysome, 'and shalbe by Goddes grace hereafter, to our nacion moste 'profitable and pleasaunt, have frely of youre awne mynde, 'graunted to us a certain subsedy, here in an act specified, 'whiche verely we take in good part, regarding more your 'kindnes, then the proffite thereof, as he that setteth more 'by your loving hartes, then by your substaunce. Beside 'this hartie kindnes, I cannot a litle rejoyse when I consider, 'the perfite trust and sure confidence, whiche you have put 'in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfeined belefe 'in my good dooynges, and just procedinges for you, with-'out my desire or request, have committed to myne ordre 'and disposicion, all Chauntryes, Colleges, Hospitalles, and 'other places specefied in a certain act, firmely trustyng 'that I wil ordre them to the glory of God, and the profite 'of the common wealth. Surely if I contrary to your 'expectacion, shuld suffre the ministres of the Church to 'decaie, or learnyng (whiche is so great a juell) to be 'minished, or pore and miserable people, to be unrelieved, 'you might say that I beyng put in so speciall a trust, 'as I am in this cace, were no trustie frende to you, nor 'charitable man to mine even christian, neither a lover of 'the publyk wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom 'accompt must be rendered of all our doynges. Doubt 'not I praye you, but your expectacion shalbe served, more 'Godly and goodly then you wil wish or desire, as hereafter 'you shall plainly perceive.

'Now, sithence I find suche kyndenes, on your part to-'warde me, I can not chose, but love and favor you, 'affirmyng

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'affirmyng that no prince in the world, more favoreth 'his subjectes, then I do you, nor no subjectes or com-'mons more, love and obaye, their sovereigne lord, then 'I perceive you do me, for whose defence my treasure shal 'not be hidden, nor yf necessitye requyre my persone shall 'not bee unadventured: yet although I with you, and you 'with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this frendly 'amity can not continue, except bothe you my lordes tem-'poral, and you my lordes spiritual, and you my lovyng 'subjectes, studie and take paine to amend one thing, which 'surely is amisse, and farre out of ordre, to the which I 'moste hartely require you, whiche is, that charity and con-'cord is not amongest you, but discord and dissencion, 'beareth rule in every place. S. Paule saieth to the Cor-'inthians, in the xiii. Chapiter, Charitie is gentle, Charitie 'is not envious, Charitie is not proude and so furth in 'the said Chapiter: Beholde then what love and Charitie 'is emongest you, when the one calleth the other, Here-'ticke and Anabaptist, and he calleth hym again Papist, 'Ypocrite, and Pharisey. Be these tokens of charitie 'emongest you? Are these the signes of fraternal love 'betwen you? No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of 'Charitie emongest your selfes, will bee the hinderaunce 'and asswagyng, of the fervent love betwene us, as I said 'before, except this wound be salved, and clerely made 'whole. I must nedes judge the faut and occasion of this 'discorde, to bee partly by negligence of you the fathers 'and preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know a man 'whyche liveth in adultery, I muste judge hym a lecher-'ous and a carnall persone: If I se a man boast and bragg 'hymself, I cannot but deme hym a proude manne. I se 'and here daily that you of the Clergy preache one against 'another, teache one contrary to another, inveigh one against 'another without Charity or discrecion. Some be to styff 'in their old Mumpsimus, other be to busy and curious, in 'their newe Sumpsimus. Thus all men almoste be in variety 'and discord, and fewe or none preache truly and sincerely 'the worde of God, accordyng as thei ought to do. Shal I 'now judge you charitable persones doing this? No, no, I 'cannot so do: alas how can the pore soules live in concord 'when you preachers sow emonges them in your sermons, 'debate and discord? Of you thei loke for light, and you

'bryng

'bryng them to darckenes. Amende these crymes I exhorte you, and set forth Goddes worde, bothe by true preaching, and good example gevyng, or els I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high mynyster here, wyll se these dyvisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duety, or els I am an unproffitable servaunte, and untrue officer.

'Although as I saie, the spirituall men be in some faute, that charytie is not kept emongest you, yet you of the temporaltie, bee not cleane and unspotted of malice and envie, for you rayle on Bishoppes, speake slaunderously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, bothe contrary to good ordre, and Christian fraternity. If you knowe surely that a bishop or preacher, erreth or techeth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsayl or to us, to whom is committed by God the high aucthority to reforme and ordre such causes and behaviours: and bee not Judges your selfes, of your awne phantasticall opinions, and vain exposicions, for in suche high causes ye maie lightly erre. And al though you be permitted to reade holy scripture, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understande that it is licensed you so to do, onely to informe your awne conscience, and to instruct your children and famely, and not to dispute and make scripture, a railyng and a tauntyng stocke, against Priestes and Preachers (as many light persones do.) I am very sory to knowe and here, how unreverently that moste precious juel the worde of God is disputed, rymed, song and jangeled in every Alehouse and Taverne, contrary to the true meaninge and doctrine of the same. And yet I am even asmuch sory, that the readers of the same, folowe it in doynge so fayntlye and coldly: for of thys I am sure, that Charitie was never so faint emongest you, and verteous and Godly livyng was never lesse used, nor God him self emongest Christians, was never lesse reverenced, honored or served. Therfore as I said before, bee in Charitie one with another, like brother and brother, love dread and serve God (to the which I as your supreme heade, and sovereigne lord, exhort and require you) and then I doubt not, but that love and league, that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved or broken betwene us. And the makynge of lawes, whiche be now

'made

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'made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to bee 'as dilligent in puttyng them in execucion, as you wer in 'making and furthering the same, or els your labor shalbe 'in vain, and your common wealth nothing releved. Now 'to your peticion, concerning our royal assent, to be geven 'to such actes as hath passed both the houses. They shalbe 'read openly, that ye maye hear them.' Then they were openly read, and to many hys grace assented, and diverse he assented not unto. Thys the kynges oracion was to his subjectes there present suche comfort, that the lyke joye could not be unto them in this world. And thus the actes read, as the maner is, and his assent geven, his grace rose and departed.

Barck Ager.

In this time, there was by the Frenchmen, a voyage made towarde the Isle of Brasile, wyth a shyp called the Barck Ager, whiche thei had taken from the Englyshmen before. And in their way they fortuned to mete sodainly wyth a litle Craer, of whom was Maister one Golding, which Golding was a fearce and an hardy man. The barck perceiving this small Craer to be an Englyshman, shott at hym and bouged hym, wherfore the Craer drew strayght to the great ship, and six or seven of the men lept into the Barke. The Frenchmen lookyng over the boord at the sinkyng of the Craer, nothyng mystrustyng any thyng, that myght be done by the Englyshmen. And so it fortuned that those Englyshmen whyche clymed into the shyp, founde in the ende thereof, a great nomber of lime pottes, which thei with water quenched, or rather as the natur thereof is, set them a fyre, and threw them at the Frenchmen that wer aborde, and so blynded them, that those fewe Englyshmen that entred the shippe, vanquished al that were therein, and dryve them under hatches, and brought the Barck clerely awaye agayn into Englande.

THE XXXVIII. YERE.

A peace concluded betwene England and Fraunce.

IN the monethe of Aprill, by meanes of diverse Prynces, an assemble was had, betwene both the Realmes, of Englande and Fraunce, at Guysnes and Arde. There were for the Kynge of Englande, the Erle of Hertforde, the

the Lorde Lysle Admyrall, Syr Wyllyam Paget Secretarye, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Cauntorbury. And for the Frenche kynge, the lorde Clado Doneball Admirall, and Marshall of Fraunce: the byshoppe of Eureux, a president and a Secretary. After long debating, and diverse breches, a peace was concluded, and proclaymed in the kynges Court, and in the citie of London on Whitsonday, with sound of Trompettes. And likewyse was it done at Paris and Roan. For the performaunce whereof, the Viscount Lisle Admiral, wyth the bishoppe of Duresme, and dyverse lordes, and above an hundred gentlemen, all in Velvet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Paris, and were there solemplye receyved and feasted, and shortly returned.

After whose returne, the Admirall of Fraunce, accompanyed wyth the bishoppe of Eureux, the Erles of Nauntevile, and Villiers, and diverse great Lordes, besyde two hundreth Gentlemen well appointed, tooke his Galey at Depe, and havinge in hys compaignie twelve fayre Galies wel trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and never toke lande, till he came to Grenewiche, where he was received by the Erles of Essex and Darby, the xix. day of August. And the next day, he wyth al hys Galies, landed at the Tower Wharfe, and on al the bankes by the water syde, laye peces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially the Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce. And from thence he rode through London, in greate triumphe, the Maior and the craftes standing in the stretes in good ordre, to the Bishoppes Palaice of London, wher he lodged, tyl Bartholomew even, on whyche day he was conveighed toward Hampton Court, where in the way the prince havyng wyth hym the Archebyshoppe of Yorke, the Erles of Hertford and Huntyngdon, and about two thousande horse, mette hym and enbraced hym, in such lowly and honorable maner, that all the beholders gretely rejoysed, and much marveyled at his wyt and audacitie, and so he came to the Court, gevyng the Prynce the upper hand as he roade. And at the utter gate of the Courte, the Lord Chauncellor, and al the Kynges counsayll received him, and brought him to his lodgynge.

On Barthelemew daye, the kyng rychly appareled, welcomed hym and in great triumph went to the chapel, wher the

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the league was sworne and signed. To tel you of the costlye banquet houses, that were built, and of the great banquettes, the costly Maskes, the liberal huntynges that were shewed to hym, you woulde much marvel, and skant beleve. But on Friday folowyng, he beyng rewarded with a Cupborde of plate, to the valure of twelve hundred pound, returned to London, and on Sondaye tooke his Galies and departed. Beside this diverse of his compayny had much plate, and manye horsses, and Greyhoundes geven them. Also the Admiral had geven to hym, of the citie of London, twoo Flagons gylte, and twoo parcel gylt, to the somme of an hundred and syxe and thirtie pounde, beside Wine, Waxe, and Torches: and thus thei laden wyth more ryches then they brought, returned into Fraunce.

Althoughe this peace pleased, both the Englysh and the French nacions, yet surely both mistrusted, the continuaunce of the same, considering the old Proverbe, that the iye seeth, the harte rueth, for the French men styll longed for Bulleyn, and the Englyshmen minded not to geve it over: in so much as duryng the Admiralles of Fraunce beynge in England, the captayn of the newe fortresse, began to make a Pile, even at the very haven mouth of Bulleyn: but the Lorde Gray capitain there put awaye the worke men, and toke awaye their tooles, and filled the trenches, to the Frenchmennes great displeasure. And after the Frenche kynge caused upon a great payn, that al the trenches, and newe invencions should be cast doune, and fylled by hys owne people, leaste he should seme to be the breaker of the peace.

Anne Askew Jhon lacelles Nicholas Otterden. Jhon Adlam.

In this yere was arreigned, condempned and burned, for affirming opinions, contrary to the syxe artycles, foure persones, that is to saye, Anne Askew Gentlewoman, Jhon Lacelles a Gentleman, Nicholas Otterden Prieste, and Jhon Adlam a Taylor: all these were burned in Smithfelde, the xvi. day of July: and because the whole processe of their matters is by diverse wryters set furth, therfore I passe it over.

Thomas duke of Norffolke, Henry Erle of Surrey.

In January were attaynted of hygh treason, Thomas duke of Norfolke, and Henry his sonne erle of Surrey which erle was behedded at the Tower Hill.

The death of Kyng Henry the eight.

Now approched to thys noble kyng, that whych is by God decreed, and appoynted to all menne, for at thys ceason in the monethe of January, he yelded hys spirite to almightie God,

God, and departed thys worlde, and lyeth buryed at Wyndsore. And the laste daye of January was hys true, lawful and onely sonne Prynce Edwarde Proclaymed kyng, of all his fathers dominions, and the xix. daye of February, was crouned and anoynted Kynge of thys realme, whome Jesu preserve, longe to reygne over us.

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Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

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Hall, Edward
AUTHOR

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